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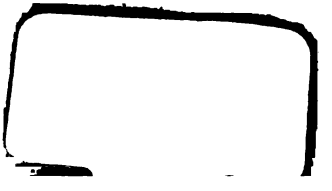

THE
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THEIR
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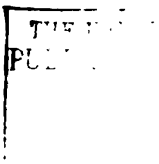

Thomas Reynolds

The Wholesale Betrayer of his Fellow Members in the Directory of the United Irishmen. After an Engraving by J. Le Comte from the Portrait in Trinity College, Dublin

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR LIVES AND TIMES

BY
RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN
M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.I.A.

NEWLY EDITED
WITH NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX
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THE INFORMER

By John Banim

The following poem, hitherto unpublished in its entirety, is a true expression of the attitude of the Irish people towards an informer. In the second edition of Madden's United Irishmen a portion of this poem is given in the memoir of Thomas Reynolds, "the sevenfold traitor," but its author was unknown to Madden and what he published of it came to him on a paper bag covering some merchandise. This work of Banim's came to the editor's hands in the following manner:— About 1866, John MacCorry, author of "National Lays of a Toiling Minstrel," while lecturing in the city of Kilkenny, Ireland, met Michael Banim, the brother of John and co-author with him in "The Tales of the O'Hara Family." Before MacCorry left the city, Banim gave him the manuscript of this poem. MacCorry, who was a friend of Marie Anne O'Farrell (then a contributor of patriotic verse to most of the National Journals), brought the poem to her. Miss O'Farrell (now Mrs. Mary Anne O'Reilly, mother of the editor) preserved the poem in memory but never had it published until in the present instance.— Ed.

Lolling at his vile ease in chariot gay,
His face, nay even his fearful name unhidden!
Uncloaked, abroad 'neath all the eyes of day

Which as he passeth close, while breath is hushed —
Unspat upon, untrampled down uncrushed,
I've seen the seven-fold traitor! — wretch, curse-ridden
By a whole nation's curse, and a world's scorn
Heaped upon that, and, heavens! he hath upborne
For nearly forty years, on the broad back
Of his strong scoundrel mind, without or crack
Or cringe, the Atlas burden! look, 'tis he —
Who for the gold which buys his luxury
Sold all! friends, honour, the fireside, the child.
The trusting child upon his knee who smiled
Into his face, as he it's sire beguiled,
Of words that made an orphan of that child.
Devil! who sold it's little kiss — and sold
Unto the gallows, scourge and dungeon hold
The young, the noble, the high-hearted bold.
And with them, humbler thousands ten times told.
And this of his own choice, not even led —
By the detected craven's shivering dread.
No; this of his own free cool weighing choice.
His ear still ringing to the trumpet voice
Of Freedom's ardor on her council day.
Stealthily, serpently, he slimed his way
Unto the paymaster and back again
Unto those fearless unsuspecting men;
'Till, drop by drop, he marketed away
At cautious pricing; for "no blood — no pay"—
Each vein that o'er their gallant hearts had sway,
Yea, 'till from lordly castle to the cot
Of the poor peasant reigned one common lot
Of torture and of carnage and of woe,
Yea, till the household blood so fast did flow,

That, swollen by women's and by children's tears,
The household hearth it slaked down for years.
Again look on him! To God's house to-day
(For he dares kneel, and he pretends to pray)
Now hath he come, o'er fed, on bloated limbs.
Scarce from his chariot steps can he descend
Though naught-remorse, nor age, nor shame, yet dims
That cool hyena eye which round him lowered.
Hopeless of fellow's glance from fellow friend,
And yet so quiet, cruel, to the end.
Might almost chill a brave man to a coward.
Said I, that in God's house he should not kneel,
And pray and be forgiven, if he feel
That scarlet red as are his sins and woe
True sorrow may not wash them white as snow?
I've said, I've thought it not, but this I say
That if he means to worship and to pray
He should not come in all this base display
Which blood doth purchase, in that chariot gay
And charioteered by liveried slaves, whose pay
Can reconcile them to such odious sway.
But that into God's house he ought to creep —
The thirty pieces given back — and weep,
Aye, as a pilgrim, on his knees, if God
Hath touched his feet with a chastising rod.
Aye, and in rags, if robe he cannot buy
Without the wages of his infamy.
But thus decked out within the holy place
He but blasphemes in heaven's averted face
And, for each prayer he chants, on high is writ
In the dread book of Doom's day — Hypocrite!
And sometimes as I see him whirled along

To join the swell of sacred words and song
I have a feeling, vague, though understood
That in his lack of kindly human blood
Venom of reptiles crawleth stealthily
Through leprous breast and vein and artery
And that the cushions of his chariot gay
And all his pillows, or by night or day,
Are soft for him with pulpy hearts which he
Trucked to the gloating butcher cruelty!
And this man lives! lives on his putrid pelf.
He neither will refund nor hang himself.

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN

APPENDIX V.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SPIES AND INFORMERS, CHIEFLY OF 1798 AND 1803, WITH THEIR EMPLOYER, MAJOR SIRR

THE following extracts from the volumes referred to in this work contain the substance of some of the communications addressed to the major by the various members of his Battalion of Testimony, chiefly in the year 1803. These volumes, containing the original correspondence, after the major's death, were secured by the trustees of Trinity College, and are now deposited in the College Library, but are kept with so much care as to be very inaccessible to readers who are not of the elect in College politics.

DR. CONLAN'S INFORMATION AGAINST NICHOLAS MARKEY.

Dr. Conlan states, that at the prosecution of Messrs. Marmion and Hoey in Drogheda, he proved that James Nelly, of the Blackrock, near Dundalk, received the Barmeath rebel returns from Nicholas Markey, who was and is in Sir —— Bellew's corps, which stated that the entire corps, save three or four men, were rebels. Marmion and Hoey were convicted and hanged. This is on record. Mr. M'Intaggert, of Drogheda, was agent

for the crown. Matthew Read, the permanent serjeant, was also implicated.[1]

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING W. P. M'CABE.

Goes by the name of Wm. Craig, or Montgomery, has a handsome bright chestnut mare, new saddle; possibly is at Russel's, where the mare is, at Bagenal, Harvey's, or at Kirwan and Andrew's, Bride Street, mercers. Wears gray pantaloons, buttons outside, light coloured coat, made in the fashion.

VARIOUS MEMORANDA OF THE MAJOR.

Rattigan, when proclaimed, was sheltered at Dillon's, a calendrer, of Donnybrook, and Dillon gave M'Mahon a horse to go to the rebel camp. Fitzpatrick at Surgeon Wright's is a captain.

M'Mahon had to pass his note, payable at the end of the war, to the people of the mountain for provisions, etc., etc.

——— for making gunpowder was bought by Wright for M'Mahon.

INFORMATION TO THE MAJOR.

The writer states that in or about the 1st of August, 1797, he met John Dillon, Michael Shaughnessy,

[1] It appears by a subsequent document that Markey was a serjeant of the yeomanry corps of Barmeath, had been in jail on a charge of treason, and that Mr. M'Intaggert was mayor of Drogheda.

Thomas Darcy, and Thomas James, at a public-house in Fleet Street Lane. They addressed him and said: "We have finished Campbell"; and showed him his blood upon their stockings. Shaughnessy, whom Campbell was desirous of getting to join him in giving information, called a meeting in Fleet Street Lane, to appoint the above meeting. James Jackson was at the meeting; it was composed of about nine persons, and the above four were appointed to murder Campbell.—*No name.*

M'CABE, THE INFORMER RESPECTING NEILSON'S CAPTURE.

Charles O'Hara, now dead, was appointed to command (the United Irishmen of Dublin), in the room of Samuel Neilson, when he was taken in May, 1798.

PATRICK M'CABE.

PATRICK M'CABE'S INFORMATION.

Arthur Hill, silk weaver, corner of Carman's Hall, lived with Murray, who now lives at the corner of Hope Lane, Francis Street. John Allen, who lived with Mark Nugent, 80 Francis Street, and served his time to M. O'Brien, woollen draper, Francis Street. Ross Burn, 7 Francis Street, woollen draper. These men were with Arthur O'Connor and Quigley, when taken in England. Hill went by the name of White; Allen by the name of Alley; Ross Burn by his own name, and were all destined for France. P. M'CABE.[1]

[1] Patrick M'Cabe, a calendrer of Francis Street, was the writer of the above letter. He was an informer of some note and standing, to the author's knowledge, in his class.

THOMAS JACKSON'S INFORMATIONS.

Thomas Jackson, of Cuffe Street, porter to M'Donnell, grocer, volunteered against his own society, and peached on them all, gave a list of names, residences, etc., on 8th May, 1798, his own master amongst the rest, who was the person who swore him.

The only remarkable person was "Cullen, of the Lawyer's Artillery, son-in-law of Mr. North, Camden Street."

In a list of nine persons committed to the tower for high treason, all by Major Sirr, save Cloney, of Craig, I find Robert Holmes, aged 37, Donnybrook, barrister, 29th July; Thomas Cloney, aged 20, Graig, gentleman, 8th November; David Fitzgerald, 18 Crow Street, merchant, 22nd November. The other six for same offence, but marked as witnesses for the crown. Robert Holmes was the eminent barrister of that name. Thomas Cloney was the rebel general; and David Fitzgerald, the father of the present Right Honble. J. D. Fitzgerald, Attorney General.—Year not given.

Michael Donnelly, of Marystown, Cooksborough, was sworn a United Irishman by M. Fagan, Mullingar; was appointed captain of barony of Maghera, about April last. (Gives a list of nine serjeants.) He went to Mullingar to give in his return. Present, M'Cabe, Belfast, etc.

He then details the preparations to take Mullingar. A Mr. William Ogle was to have headed the men in the attack.

ANDERSON'S INFORMATION.

Fitzgerald, a silversmith, works in Skinner Row, a private in the Rotundo division, was appointed a captain of a division on Tuesday, and has got his command. Burke, a silversmith in Pembroke Court, is appointed serjeant to the same division.

Every man is ordered to provide himself with a blanket, a haversack, a banner for their pike, and a week's provisions; the townsmen to act in the country, and the countrymen to act in the town.

A full baronial are to meet on Monday evening next, at eight o'clock, No. 3 Schoolhouse Lane. As they are now so numerous, a split must take place. The password for that night, "Field."

A subscription was opened this day for Turner, the proprietor of the forge where the pike-makers were taken at work, to send him out of the way, to prevent his appearing to prosecute the pike-makers.

Kilmore Smith, Dolphin's Barn, is making pikes from nine to eleven at night, the only time to catch him at work.

GREEN DIVISION, NO. 12.

April 23.— A baronial meeting took place at No. 3 Schoolhouse Lane, at Colbert's, at nine o'clock in the morning, when fourteen in number appeared; Thomas Cannon, a tailor, in the chair. Present, two. P. Fitzpatrick, yeoman in Stephen's Green division, a serjeant in United Irishmen. [Enumerates the others.] Collected money for expenses, and ordered a meeting on Tuesday at eight o'clock, to elect a captain. Strength

of the city, 8,700, and 500 stand of arms for the Green division, and 2,500 pikes. Thomas Connor is the principal man, and is to give out the arms. Burke drilled a number of men yesterday evening (Sunday), between Harold's Cross and Dolphin's Barn, opposite a stone-quarry, four-edged daggers are making, supposed by Burke.[1]

MEMORANDUM OF MAJOR SIRR.

Dublin Castle, March 29, 1798.

Henry Medcalf, of Elbow Lane, Meath Street, in the county of Dublin, came before me this day, and gave information that he knows Mr. Harris, of Cole Alley, Meath Street, ribbon weaver, and from seditious and treasonable expressions which he often heard said Harris make use of, he has good reason to believe him to be a U. I. M., and has heard him declare he was one and ready to take down any bloody Orangeman or any person well affected to the king.[2]

TO MAJOR SIRR, FROM THOMAS O'HARA.

HONORED SIR,

With profound gratitude and respect I once more beg leave to address your goodness. As I am of opinion that it was not at your honour's desire that I

[1] Anderson elsewhere says that Burke has engaged to get arms out of the Ordnance, to give a case of pistols for 11s. 6d., and all other kinds of arms at like value. Dulgan, of —— Alley, engaged to find bullets and lead.

[2] Major Sirr's handwriting.

was prosecuted by Mr. Mitchell (the engraver), on whose evidence I was found guilty, I still entertain strong hope and reliance on your kind promise to me (let what will be the consequence of my trial, you would befriend me after), and, honoured sir, rest assured I am well convinced of your great benevolence towards my unfortunate wife and children. Likewise, if your honour but once looked back to my unfortunate situation, I am persuaded you would redress me, as I am confident that the smallest application by your honour's interference would liberate me, as I know it is not your desire that I should be abandoned to all social society, and become a victim to the most obscene companions that Ireland could produce; and if it should be my good hap to obtain my invaluable liberty, and your honour but to take me into your protection, you shall find in me an acquisition that will make an atonement sufficient to compensate for my former proceedings, and also any trouble your honour is pleased to take with me, as I shall walk from henceforth in the path of truth and virtue. This is my fixed resolution, which I shall faithfully keep, relying on your honour's clemency to liberate me from bondage. I have only to add, that I feel an inevitable impulse to cherish the most sanguine hope that this supplication, as my last effort, will be attended with a favourable issue in reception, and thereby crown the labours of a life that shall be devoted to your command, which I trust will be considered laudable in its principle and agreeable in its effect, and secure to me your sanction and encouragement, to merit which will be my highest ambition, and the ultimate end of my pursuits through life.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, honoured Sir,
Your most devoted and very humble supplicant,
THOMAS O'HARA.

Geneva Barrack,
18th August, 1800.

P.S.—At your honour's discretion I would leave the kingdom if liberated, but most certainly you would not require it, as I would be of the most essential service to your honour in the city, more so than you can at present imagine. I hope your honour will excuse my incoherent lines, and also the length of this letter.

☞ I trust your honour will be pleased to give your answer to the within letter to William Simpson, New Prison, who will transmit it to me by post. N.B.—As to my behaviour since I arrived at Geneva, Colonel Hall, who commands the Devon and Cornwall regiments of Fencibles, will give me a character during his time if required.

To Major Henry C. Sirr, Castle, Dublin.
Waterford post-mark.

TO MAJOR SIRR, FROM THOMAS O'HARA.

HONORED SIR,—Animated with a lively sense of your honour's kind advice to me against having anything to do with forgery, and yet I have persevered, contrary to your kind advice, whereby my apparatus and machinery, together with my person, were discovered and brought to justice by your honour's promptitude and vigilance, and also my accusation justly founded, in consequence of which I was sent to Geneva, agreeable to the laws of my king and country; and notwithstanding my present predicament, I absolutely con-

sider myself happy to be arrested timely from so unwarrantable and illegal practice as I was in the habit of prior to my arrest, wherein my life and my soul was in peril. Therefore, if your honour will use your influence with government in my behalf, so as to have me liberated, I will arrange such projects, by having means provided (with the assistance of your letters), as will suppress the entire system of forgery in the above-mentioned towns, and likewise throughout this kingdom (proviso that my name will be kept secret), as I will have a general recourse to my former correspondents, who are now in the habit of buying these notes from those who manufacture them, and sell them again to country merchants and jobbers at a very advanced price or double profit. As these persons will consider me in the usual habit I was in heretofore, I am certain they will not hide anything from me, but communicate openly to me their mind without reserve, and also in consequence of which familiarity I will be enabled to suppress the entire fabrication of counterfeit bank-note making in the above said places, that is not immediately under your vigilant eye. I have wrote this letter at the request of some of the officers now in Geneva, who are very desirous to have the men apprehended who made their escape from Geneva. [The writer then proceeds to state his ability, and the zeal he would use to have them recaptured.] As my property is totally done away, I trust your honour will use you influence (if you will tolerate me) with government that I may be liable to receive a yearly salary to enable me to support self and family, which yearly salary I will not demand until government and your honour will

be satisfied that I have merited it by supporting and performing my promise, agreeable to the contents of this letter.

Your honour will please to give your answer to Leonard M'Nally, Esq., No. 20 Harcourt Street, Dublin, or to

THOMAS O'HARA.

Geneva, Nov. 11, 1800.

FROM J. BIRD TO MAJOR SIRR.

SIR,— On the enclosed sheets are the particulars that befell me from the hour I was so unfortunate as to quit the government till the period I was brought back a prisoner. I have taken the utmost care to omit nothing material, or write aught but facts, and if it can by any means tend to expiate the offences I was rash enough to commit, it would prove a great consolation to my mind. Could the power of man extend so far as to recall a past event, there is no sacrifice I would not willingly submit to, could it tend to eradicate the unmerited insult which, swayed by factious men and mistaken resentment, I committed against you. I repent it with sincere regret, and were not your mind infinitely superior to your vile traducers, I had experienced treatment very different from the indulgence (my conduct considered) I have met with.

I should, sir, have sent this account long since, but the close confinement, and occasional foul air caused by under drains, etc., have at times so affected my head as to incapacitate me from writing for a day or two together.

O'Brien called on me yesterday, to know if I knew of

any treasonable conduct of Joseph Leeson.[1] From personal knowledge, I am sorry to say I do not, but am certain that himself and hypocritical brother were the chief agitators that first seduced from their allegiance the peasantry of the county of Wicklow, bordering on their uncle's estates; and a great pity it is that while the numerous and miserable victims to their infernal ambition are enveloped in every species of destruction, those demagogues, whose baleful influence and example first corrupted them, should escape that punishment they so richly merit.

I am, sir, with respect and gratitude, your most obedient, humble servant, BIRD.

Henry Charles Sirr, Esq.

(No date.)

BIRD'S STATEMENT.

REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

Miles Dignam.— The first time I ever was in his company was at Mr. Hoyte's house, Peter's Place, the use of which was given to me by Mr. Hoyte, as soon as I quitted Mr. Moore's. Nothing material happened there, but he soon became more intimate, and told me I was

[1] The "Joseph Leeson" so cavalierly referred to by the miscreant informer Bird, and carefully inquired after by the other miscreant in the service of Major Sirr, Mr. J. O'Brien, was the Honourable Joseph Leeson, of the county Wicklow, grandson of the Earl of Miltown. Mr. Leeson, in 1798, married Emily, daughter of Archibald Douglass, grand-daughter of General Douglass. The present earl, the eldest son of the preceding and fourth Earl of Miltown, was born in 1799; his brother, Henry, was born in 1800, and his sister, Cecilia, in 1801. The widow of the Right Honourable Joseph Leeson married, secondly, Valentine, Lord Cloncurry, and died on the 15th of January, 1841.— R. R. M.

lucky in acting as I had, for that times were changing, and that the leaders of the United Irishmen had infinitely more trouble to keep them quiet than the government. He recommended it to me to publish my memoirs with all possible speed, or I would reap little benefit by so doing, for that the people were now more inclined to fight than read, and that he could not tell one day before another on which the insurrection might begin. He asked me was I conversant in *military tactics*. I answered in the negative. He was pleased to tell me I was clever at the pen, and knew the CASTLE well; could I not have a plan for the taking of it, and give it to him, and he would give it for inspection to the military committee, who, he said, would examine every plan offered, and from the whole extract the best. I told him I would attempt it, but I never did so. Very soon after this, he (Dignam) informed me that a plan was formed for the capture of Dublin. He explained it to me as follows, viz.:— As soon as the inhabitants of Dublin were ready to revolt, notice was to be given to the six adjoining counties, within three hours' march, to send in four thousand men each (which number he said were to be formed within six miles of Dublin, and could reach it in at least two hours, on a pinch), 12,000 of whom were to assist the citizens of Dublin against their internal enemies; the remaining 12,000 to keep off the soldiers in the country from assisting those in the town. Of the success of this plan he seemed very confident, but of another he seemed still more so, could it be properly reduced to shape, which had nothing to do with Dublin, which, after explaining the outlines, he also invited me to prepare. This plan was as follows:

— As soon as the executive should deem themselves strong enough to begin the insurrection, notice should be sent by confidential persons from the provinces to the counties, thence to the baronial committees, commanding every barony to revolt at the same hour, and to secure the persons of consequence resident therein, as hostages for the safety of the prisoners, as well as to prevent the army from firing on the United Irishmen, which in that case could not fire on them without killing their own friends. This plan he called a very humane one, as it would prevent a vast effusion of blood.

I called on Mr. Dignam one evening, on my return from Fingall, where I had been in company with M'Dermott, to seek lodgings. I found him at home, in high spirits, owing, as he said, to the flourishing state of affairs. The returns from Munster, he said, were just arrived; 11,000 infantry and 900 horse, he said, were ready any moment they might be wanting, well armed and well equipped. He asked me had I seen the military, but I answered I had not; he handed over a list of tests, printed on *c* [in MS.] fine paper, I believe, about four inches wide, the purpose of which, I think, was to keep the United Irishmen from rising, without order from their superior officers, as it began with privates, and extended up to the colonels, etc. He was telling me things of this sort, very rapidly talking, of the Castle, etc., etc., when I [illegible — qy. hindered or stopped] him on account of M'Dermott, in whom I did not wish to confide; he then sent him for a coach, in which I and M'Dermott returned to Old Merrion.

O'Brien's affair happened in three days after this, of which I wrote to Dignam, as before related. He

came to me in the evening, not rightly understanding the affair, as I wrote to him about the arms in an obscure manner. I told him the particulars, and that I wished O'Brien and himself to settle about them. I saw Dignam after this once more: he came to receive orders for such things as I would have occasion for. He said my bill was near thirty pounds, and that some of my friends seemed to think him foolish to trust me when I had no means of payment: but he said he would [qy. not?] deny me. He told me he had entered into the military department, and had little doubt but he would lose his life in the business: in which case, he instructed me to remember his children, and he took his leave of me and my wife in the most affectionate manner. This was in the evening, previous to my quitting my lodgings at Mr. M'Dermott's, since which I never saw him, but heard from him once or twice.

COMMUNICATION OF BIRD TO THE MAJOR RESPECTING ROBERT WHITE, PRINTER.

In a former paper I gave some details of this person, who has done as much to the injury of the crown as any of his capacity could. He told me he had a private printing press in his mother's house, in a back and very private apartment, and used to print and circulate a vast number of inflammatory hand-bills, [a word illegible] song-books, etc. He was very intimate with M'Dermott; he was lately in danger of being taken, on account of some song-books he sold to a retailer, who, if taken (he was sworn against), he was afraid would inform against himself. He once gave me to understand he knew all about the printing of the "Union Star."

The paper above alluded to is the following:— One Maguire, curate to Connolly, parish-priest of the Blackrock, with whom I became acquainted at Mrs. M'Dermott's, Old Merrion, told me that he had been very active in the county Wicklow, and had put a great many up. He said there was at least 13,000 pikes in that country, which was properly organized; that all the Portarlington corps of yeomanry was up, except nine. He gave me a printed paper purporting to be an order from the committee of the city of Dublin, ordering the people to organize and arm with all possible despatch; to organize themselves into divisions of twelve each, and a secretary, as near neighbours as possible, to defeat spies and informers; ordered them to be steady, ready, determined, etc., etc. He told me he was after a visit to Lord Edward F., in whose praise he was profuse; said there would be a committee for the county of Dublin meet next day. He assured me that in case Arthur O'Connor should be transmitted from England, an attempt by armed boats would be made to rescue him, I think at the Head. He was likewise acquainted with Dignam, who had just before told me the returns of Munster were received. He asked me did I know who brought them; I replied not. "I suppose," says Maguire, "'twas a Captain Morris,[1] who is very active in that country, and wants to get into the provincial, and has been in the French service." He told me that Connolly, his priest, was to sit with the committee which was taken at Bond's house, and had a very narrow escape, etc., etc. William M'Dermott and all his family spoke of this Maguire as a very staunch republican, before I

[1] The priest Quigley assumed that name.

saw him. Said that, when he was reading the prayer for the royal family, he used at times, as by a mistake, to pray for George II., George IV., etc., etc.

A few days before I quitted Old Merrion, a young man named O'Brien came to me, saying that he heard I was connected with the heads of the United Irishmen, and he wanted to speak to me on particular business, which was respecting some arms which were offered to him by a person in or near Loughlinstown camp. This person, he said, got together by some means or other about 160 muskets and 5,000 rounds of ball cartridge, which he wished to dispose of to the United Irishmen at prime cost, or even to let them have them on any terms to be rid of them, but knew not who to apply to. I told him I wondered how he could possibly get so much ammunition without being detected. I believe he replied, the person served the officers with wine and liquor, and he supposed he might procure them from deserters or the stores, but be that as it would, he had the arms, etc., and wished to put them out of his custody. I told him I had nothing to do with it myself, but would recommend him to Miles Dignam, who would soon settle the business. He seemed pleased at the idea of my introducing him to the acquaintance of Dignam; said he once met Lord Edward in a society, and would have applied to him only for fear Lord Edward should be offended. He said he wished to organize the United Irishmen about Old Merrion, in which job he requested my assistance. That I told him I must decline too, but Bill M'Dermott would do much better. He told me part of signs of United Irishmen, and that after, when Lord Edward passed by him, and now desiring he would throw

out a sign, on purpose to make his lordship answer them, which he always did. He was a foot yeoman, belonging to, I believe, Upper-Cross Fusileers, but that he intended to enter in the Stephen's Green division, to avoid suspicion, as he had not for a good while attended on the other, of whom he spoke as of a low set. He breakfasted with me following morning, and repeated all he said before of the arms, etc. I accordingly wrote to Dignam that same day, I believe by O'Brien himself, but of that am not certain. But as he was going to town from breakfasting with me, he saw the corps of yeoman he belonged to making towards him; he leaped over the wall, near Baggotrath Castle, and very narrowly escaped being taken, as they were in pursuit of him. I quitted Merrion very soon after this, but Dignam came to me concerning O'Brien, and was very well pleased with my sending to him about it, and the last time that I saw Dignam, he told me he had secured, or was about securing, the arms O'Brien spoke of.

Robert White, printer, an intimate friend of M'Dermott, and at that time shopman to Chambers, printer, in Abbey Street, was introduced to my acquaintance as a very active United Irishman the day after last Patrick's day. White gave me a handbill, printed by himself, addressed to the United Irishmen of Dublin, and earnestly exhorting them to quit drinking whiskey, with a text to that effect underneath. He said many thousand persons took it the first day. He printed political song books, etc., as well as watch papers, with a monument to Orr. He was lately printing some new thing concerning O'Connor, Hart, and Orr. He told me one night he left a parcel of men learning their ex-

ercise in Chambers's drawing-room. He said he could get plenty of arms, and offered to get me a yeoman's sword for 9s., brace of pistols, 12s., a dagger, 3s. 9½d.; the sword and pistols to come from the Ordnance Stores.

BIRD'S STATEMENT CONTINUED.— TRANSACTIONS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN FINGALL.

James O'Reily, or James Reily, assured me that the people called him an Orangeman. He was up, and worked as well to the cause as any man. William M'Dermott, of Old Merrion, told me he put James Reily up, or was present at the putting of him up; I am not certain which. James Reily is a Protestant, and belongs to the cavalry commanded by Hans Hamilton, Esq., etc. Luke Reily, brother to the above, made himself known to me as a United Irishman without reserve. He said notice for the Fingallians to prepare for an insurrection had been sent from Dublin to their secretary, at which he seemed much pleased. He said the only object he had in becoming a United Irishman was to possess the lands he rented (about 400 acres), on which he had toiled all his life, and thought he had a just right to hold them without rent, as soon as the United Irishmen conquered the government. Reily spoke this in presence of my wife one Sunday evening, and said the same at other times to me. He used to sing republican songs, and the day before I left him he said the secretary had been round to warn the people of me, suspecting me to be an Orangeman. This Luke Reily follows the Catholic Church. He said Fingall was, in general, organized and armed, but that pikes

were wanting. At this time a carpenter was working in the house, from which place he was one night sent for by a neighbouring farmer in a great hurry, but neglected going, either by staying to finish Reily's job or some other cause. About twelve o'clock at night the house took fire and was entirely consumed. In a day or two after which accident, as Luke Reily and I were discoursing of the arms of the United Irishmen, he told me that the fire was occasioned by a young man or two (sons of the farmer whose house was burned) sitting up with a candle lighted, waiting for the carpenter coming to make pike-shafts, in consequence of orders sent by the committee of the county of Dublin, and that near £300 were lost in notes and cash, exclusive of the furniture, house, etc.

This carpenter was a confidential man, and, of course, must know of a great quantity of arms; [some omission here] and should the Reilys prove who are the secretaries, etc., it would tend to the total disarming of that part of the country. Reilys reported the priest of Lispale as a United Irishman, as well as Seagrave, Linahan, and Langan, whom they said were intimate friends of Matt Dowling.

From this place, by recommendation of M'Dermott, I went to Warren's, of Downstown, county of Meath. Robert Warren (in custody) told me he was a United Irishman, as were his brothers and M'Dermott, but that he quitted the king's service as a yeoman as soon as he was put up. Camill or Cahill, curate to the parish priest of Duleek, was spoken of by M'Dermott, Warren, etc., as a United Irishman. Robert White, late an apprentice to Chambers, of Abbey Street, was pointed

out to me as a very active United Irishman, and had made a great many at Lispale, Duleek, etc.

Morgan Warren (brother of Robert Warren), lately executed, was very generally believed to have had a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, etc., of which it is probable White or M'Dermott knows the particulars.

The inhabitants of the barony of Duleek were represented to me as disaffected in general, except such as were Protestants, who were almost entirely steady loyalists. I could never discover whether the disaffected were organized or armed. M'Dermott and Warren very often told me that the Gormanstown cavalry were nearly all United Irishmen, and that the few who were not up had been so but for the apprehension of Bond, etc., and which report was credited by the country in general.

A person named Michael Farley, farmer, of the Carns, near Duleek, informed me that I was suspected to be a spy by the neighbours. I told him of my connection with Dignam, Dowling, etc., to whom he or they might apply for my character. He was satisfied, and told me that a Baker had gone to France with the intelligence of the state of Ireland. I soon afterwards learned this person's name was M'Nally, a smuggler, of Rush or Lusk, and that he knew of some pieces of cannon, with which he was marching towards Tarragh the evening of the battle, but, on hearing of the defeat of the rebels, he returned and buried the cannon, arms, etc., to wait a more favourable opportunity of revolting: this was related to me by a person named Brannan or Brennan, whose brother was discharged by Lord Enniskillen at Drogheda. He seemed to be very deeply

in the secrets of the United Irishmen of Meath and Dublin, and said he was very intimate with Murphy, at whose house Fitzgerald was taken. He said if the United Irishmen were beat in Wexford, it would be all over with them, unless the French landed; he told me that himself. One Manging, an officer of the rebel army, and Carl or Carrol, of Balinstown, ditto, ditto, and one West, and five or six others, whose names he did not mention, intended going over to France, by means of M'Nally, of Rush, aforesaid, for which they were to pay ten guineas in gold each person, and that his was ready. He spoke a good deal of a person named Markey, whom I understood from many people was a principal United Irishman in those parts, as were Tiernan, of Garistown, Doolan, of Ardoath, and Richard Langan, belonging to Dillon's volunteers. Those persons, to a certainty, being the first United Irishmen in those places.

ANOTHER COMMUNICATION FROM BIRD

Hugh Crook, clerk to Mr. Dowling, speaking of George Howell, Justice Wilson's clerk, told me that there was not a more active United Irishman in Dublin than he was, and that he had done a great deal of good in the county of Wicklow (meaning that he had made a great many United Irishmen), and that he swore very hard against O'Brien, and was the chief means of saving Finny from being hanged; that he would go any length to save a United Irishman, or destroy an informer. He told me more which I forget, but am sure he named some committee to which Howell belonged.

Mr. Dowling, speaking of Howell, said the same that Crook did, with this addition, that when anything bad came to his knowledge against a United Irishman, he never failed giving them intelligence to escape it, and that he would swear through a brick wall upon occasion. In the county of Wicklow he was very much talked of as a United Irishman. One Cummins, of Ballatois, who was sworn against as a United Irishman, told me he had often escaped by Howell's means.

J. BIRD.

FROM J. BIRD TO MAJOR SIRR.

On 20th January, Bird writes to have inquiries made of Mr. Hoyte, Kennedy's Lane, about his wife, and states that he was at the time eighty-one miles from Manchester, where the letter was posted, thinking that Manchester letters were less liable to suspicion than others. He speaks of his fear of his wife being dead, and writes as if he loved her much; and speaks of having "a fair prospect of tranquil peace." MARY BIRD, his wife, writes a very curious letter, asking money to take her to England — badly spelled, worse written, and worse again in style — saying she must perish for want, or be "obigated to aply to government, and do do what might injer you and your friendes"; and reminding the person to whom she writes, that she ought not to be treated coolly by "gentlemen who Mr. Bird all ways strove to sarve." [There is no date or superscription, but it probably was addressed to Major Sirr.]

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD, IN MAJOR SIRR'S HANDWRITING.

The attack on 18th May in Watling Street was reported to Neilson next day; he was informed I was stabbed, and that I wounded two — one desperately with cuts and stabs, whose life is despaired of; one very nearly connected with him was in the affray; one of the party was certainly taken, who he says is a Scotchman. He dined with Lord Edward Fitzgerald the day his lordship was taken, and had only left him about an hour before. He and Lord Edward were taken about five weeks ago, at the hill above Palmerstown, by a patrol of the artillery, commanded by a young officer. Lord Edward was in the disguise of a labouring man, and both were on common car horses, but good trotters. Neilson pretended to be dead drunk, and after being in custody for some time, were again liberated.

Lord Edward did lodge at Murphy's about three weeks, and Neilson took from it, and removed him frequently; Lord Edward was certainly removed the 18th May, and went through Watling Street the time of the attack. Neilson declares that he collected fourteen men to rescue Lord Edward on the night he was taken, which he would certainly have [The memorandum breaks off here.]

FROM EDWARD CORMAC.— CATHOLIC LEADERS IN 1792.

(Extract from a letter.)

Thurles, 6th October, 1792.

. . . I am endeavouring to push forward the Waterford election. Doctor Egan will not oppose it.

He is horrid. Still it will go on. I am happy that the mare pleases you. I have drawn for five guineas already. I am informed that only 16 (sixteen) attended at your county election last Thursday. I am also informed that the Catholics speak too loudly in the porter-houses of the number of armed men that they can bring into the field. Such language is too intemperate.

From Edward Cormac to Mr. Richard Cormac,
Mark's Alley, Dublin.

Richard M'Cormick, a silk mercer, of Mark's Alley, was, in 1792, one of the Catholic leaders.

FROM JOHN HAYDEN TO MAJOR SIRR.

(Extract.)

Dublin, 28th May, 1803.

SIR,— Agreeable to your desire, I state the terms on which I would undertake to take Dwyer or any of his party. As I should give up a place of profit to me . . . I should be allowed ensign's pay as an equivalent, and have it made permanent to me by some situation; which permanency I would not demand if I did not make it appear to at least two magistrates of the neighbourhood to have done as much as I possibly could towards attaining my purpose. But that if I did succeed, I should get a permanent place of at least twice an ensign's pay, or the reward offered by government. . . . As I would be at expense in a variety of ways in making acquaintance with the people who

harbour Dwyer and his party, I would receive twelve guineas, which should not be afterwards stopped.

I am, sir, etc.,

HENRY HAYDEN.

To Major Sirr.

FROM JOHN DILLON, INFORMER, TO MAJOR SIRR.

Writes a letter, dated May 31st, 1803, Gormanstown, in which he states that he has received a delegate from Dublin by the disaffected; that he attended their meetings, and that, by the advice of a Captain Ralph Smyth, he would remain another week in the country; that he had the names of the society in his pocket. He adds, "Show this to the secretary, and enclose one of the former notes." The letter is addressed to Major Sirr.

PAPERS OF RUSSELL IN THE COLLECTION OF MAJOR SIRR. — ARTHUR TONE — SUBSTANCE OF LETTERS ADDRESSED TO RUSSELL.

Matilda Tone, in one of her letters, addressed to Thomas Russell, speaks of Arthur having been taken from the business he chose for himself, contrary to his father's wishes; and mentions his being about to be bound to some other business, in such a way as to lead one to believe that it was at the wish and through the exertion of Russell and the other friends of Tone in Belfast. Speaking of the fee, she says his father and she will give ten guineas if the other twenty are forthcoming. The letter appears to have been written prior to Theobald Wolfe Tone's departure for America.

Arthur Tone wrote a very bad hand; in writing to Russell, he makes use of this phrase, "My father says,

by God I shall not stay here," and asks advice of Russell. He could not at the time have been more than thirteen to fourteen years of age.

July 25, 1803 — £660

July 25, 1903, at 10¼ or half-past.

Walter Byrne, of 13 Meath Street, and John Andrews, 63 Bridgefoot Street, were found concealed in Mrs. Madden's house, 36 Thomas Street, after Mrs. Madden and all the people who appeared in her house had declared there was no men concealed there. When these men were found concealed in a small closet or parlour in her shop, she admitted she knew they were there half-an-hour, but no longer. Her boy, Robert Shannon, being examined, deponent said they were there since the shop was shut, which was at twenty-five minutes after eight that evening. It was therefore thought necessary to take them into custody.

There was also six hundred and sixty guineas found concealed in her house, which was reckoned by Mrs. Madden, tied up in a bag, sealed and handed to Captain Sinnett. The guineas were in rolls of twenty each, and there was only some of them restored.

Thomas R. Alott, John T. Sinnett,
Captains, Liberty Rangers.

Newtownards, 1803.

Manus Corry, lieutenant-colonel of the South Downshire, under date July 28, 1803, recommends Major Sirr to send two men to the quarter, who should remain at Donaghadee, as he had been informed that several

persons had returned without permission of government. "I have myself lately (on the arrival of the packets) seen several persons landed from them, of the most suspicious appearance — men who, from their dress and manners, I should have expected would have travelled post, but, on the contrary, walked into the country, and were not known by any of the loyal people here."

PIKES.

Sir,— I request to inform you that, on going to my house about half-an-hour ago, I perceived lying by a wall adjoining, apparently a piece of square timber, but on close inspection found it to be a packing-case very artificially made, so as to resemble timber in the log, which, on opening, I found to contain forty-one pikes mounted (both handles and heads). I request to know what you would recommend me to have done with them, or where I shall send them.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JOHN GIBSON,
Architect of the Barrack Depot.

Major Sirr.
(no date — supposed to be 1803.)

FATHER NOWLAN, OF RATHVILLEY.

Spoke to his parishioners about one Nowlan, a rebel and robber, in strong terms, recommending that such be given up to the magistrates. Twelve months after, Michael Nowlan came to the chapel, and called the

priest an informer and a turncoat; a row ensued, but the priest's party had to make their escape with a good drubbing.

[The above is the substance of a letter to Major Sirr, from Baltinglass, by Francis Derinzy, captain in Shadford Lodge Infantry, August 4, 1803.]

FROM JOEL HULBERT TO MAJOR SIRR.[1]

Monastereven, August 1, 1803.

SIR,— That the following is authentic information, I beg of you to make no doubt of. There is a man in Kilmainham of the name of Barnwell, who keeps a public house nearly opposite the jail, and some short time back had regularly meetings of United Irishmen at his house, from between seven and eight o'clock in the

[1] This letter is deserving of particular attention. The first communication of the Monastereven correspondent of the major, which I saw, was signed J. F. H. The recollection of the initials F. H., in the secret service money list prefixed to the reward of £1,000 for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, caused me to make a good deal of inquiry respecting this correspondent, and previous even to the discovery in Sirr's papers of a letter of the writer, bearing the name in full of Joel Hulbert, I discovered that a person of this name, in 1800, had been a resident in Monastereven, a carver and gilder by trade — one of the privileged order, of the exclusively loyal class and church; and yet Mr. Joel Hulbert, in private, was known to entertain, or at least express, very republican sentiments and Tom-Paineish opinions. About two years after the rebellion he obtained the situation of collector of the tolls of the Grand Canal, at Monastereven. He died there in 1816 or 1817. He never had the appearance of being in the receipt of large sums of money. A person of his name followed the business of a carver and gilder, in Abbey Street, within the last ten or twelve years. He had two sons, George and William: both obtained situations on the Grand Canal — one at Mountmellick, the other at Philipstown.

evening until two and three o'clock in the morning. The chairman's name is Peter Brophy; he and his brother, John Brophy, both gardeners, live the next house to Mr. Dixon, tanner, Kilmainham. He always takes the chair dressed in a white jacket, with green facings, and silver epaulets, and a long white wand in his hand. . . . This Barnwell is a most bigoted Papist.

JOEL HULBERT.

Further communication and inquiry of same writer. — If it be true that Mr. James Wm. Osborne, formerly a member of the attorney corps, and now of Mr. Cassidy's, had been struck off the attorneys' corps for disaffection? Desires to know if such be the case.

LETTER OF THOMAS COOKE, OF SKINNERS' ALLEY, TO HIS WIFE, FROM NEWGATE.

MY DEAR CATHERINE,— . . . I am confident that your heart is here, while your body is in liberty — must I say, with me immured within the walls of a prison; but hope in God, and fear not what man can do to me. . . . Do not fret nor injure your health by a depression of spirits: health is a blessing that makes the king and the beggar equally happy; but the want of it embitters the enjoyment of all other temporal blessings, and makes the child of sorrow and wretchedness more unhappy. My constant prayer, both night and day, for you and my dear little children. May God, of His infinite mercy, keep you from the hands of your enemy, and that God may be a father to them when I am dead and gone; and after this short and miserable valley of tears, may I see and meet you, my virtuous companion, in the kingdom of Heaven, which

is all the prayer I wish for, and that you may, for my sake, meet a better and lovinger companion than I have proved to you, to end your days with. So, no more at present. . . . This is the last letter you shall ever receive from me here. My pen has failed me, so, till death I remain faithful, and have you in memory.

THOMAS COOKE.

September 15, 1797. Newgate.

N.B.— . . . "Blessed are they who suffer for justice sake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."

FROM BARON SMITH TO MAJOR SIRR.

Downpatrick, March 20.

SIR,— Of the three prisoners who were convicted before me (Devine, Byrne, and Smyth), the two former have suffered, and the latter is respited until further orders. On the evidence, there were circumstances which, in the opinion of the other judge, as well as in mine, manifestly distinguished his case from that of the two others. At the same time, having heard that Smyth is an old offender, I am desirous that he should not be made an object of mercy, to which he is not entitled. The evidence on his trial, if it stood alone, would, I think, completely warrant me in recommending him; but as in doing so I exercise a discretion, I will not shut my eyes against his general character, provided I receive it from respectable and authentic sources. You have already had the goodness to give me some information about Smyth, but at the time when I made the application, and received your answer, I was extremely occupied, and therefore am under a sort of necessity of troubling you again. I make no apology

for doing so. I have an object, in attaining which I know you will be glad to coöperate. I wish to endeavour to have mercy extended to Smyth, if he deserves it, and not to make any such application if he does not. Sixteen persons have received sentence of death at Dundalk, and my wish is, to select from those the fittest subjects for mercy. This, I admit, is an awkward application. I beg, however, to assure you, that any information which you may give me, though I act upon it, I never shall communicate.

I have every reason to suppose you a humane man, and therefore I shall only take the liberty of cautioning you against any false delicacy in answering my present application. We have a common wish, viz., that if Smyth be a notorious and atrocious offender, he should suffer, and if he be not, that mercy should be extended to him.

You will really oblige me by answering this application with promptness, and not hesitating to state anything which you think should induce me to decline interfering in Smyth's favour. We shall go into Carrickfergus on Friday. I again ask pardon for giving you this trouble, and have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM SMITH.

"A PROTESTANT" INFORMER TO MAJOR SIRR.

An informer designating himself as a Protestant, writes to say that Thomas Regan, servant to Mr. Rooney, distiller, 28 Watling Street, is a big rebel, and that, if handled rightly, can give much valuable infor-

mation, and recommends the major to try the "worm-tub" for arms.

FROM E. CLIBBORN, ESQ., TO THE MAJOR.—A. O'CONNOR — 1803.

Moate, August 9, 1803.

My Dear Sir,— . . . I have been informed this day that Arthur O'Connor has been in the neighbourhood of Kilbeggan. John Warneford Armstrong says that Charles Clerk, commonly called Captain Clerk, told him he met him on Saturday last, near Kilbeggan, in company with one Connell, a smith. [He then adds that he requested information as to the dress of the person supposed to be O'Connor, but had not got it.]

(Signed) George Clibborn.

FROM R. L. TO MAJOR SIRR.

August 8, 1803.

"Sir,— Having an opportunity of knowing Mr. Sampson for some time, I have found out that he has made and disposed of more pike-handles than any man in Ireland. I have known him to damn the king, and acknowledge himself a Jacobin. . . . He is an Englishman, and has two sons Jacobins. R. L."

MR. C. GREENWOOD, OF BELFAST, TO MAJOR SIRR.

Belfast, December 10, 1806.

Sir,— Though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance, yet my knowledge of your public character induces me to place that confidence in you which others might prefer placing in some neighbouring magistrate,

as I know that the magistrate who has often ventured his life in detecting the desperadoes who sought to overturn the government, and introduce hordes of French ruffians in place of our constitutional defenders,— I say that the man who has done so much will, I am confident, preserve my secret (I mean the secret of my name) as he would that of his brother. In short, sir, my situation in life is comfortable, but wishing to improve, I intended going to Buenos Ayres, but failed through some disappointments. In the mean time it was recommended to me to become a freemason; the person who caused me to become one shortly after introduced me into a society, seemingly formed for religious purposes, but in reality for the destruction of the government, by bringing about a revolution in Church and State. They are denominated among the higher classes, "Unitos Frates," and among the lower classes "Ezekielites." I am sorry to say that they reckon among their numbers several who have hitherto been denominated loyal. The constitution comprises twelve pages, formed so as to deceive the uninitiated, and is entrusted to secretaries only, to which situation I was chosen on Wednesday last, the day of our meeting, which is on the first Wednesday of each month. The military committee meets the second Sunday, and the commanders the night following, in order to receive reports. I am much in confidence, from the strong recommendation of my friend, whose name I will on no account discover. The only reward I shall draw is your interest to procure an ensigncy for me in some regiment going to Buenos Ayres; or, if this should not be complied with, I am satisfied to remain in town here,

and procure all the information in my power. If you can come down, come immediately, and, as you are in the commission for every county in Ireland, you can take up the following persons, viz., William Lockyer, at the Donegal Arms; Stephen Daniel Dwyer, North Street; John Caven, grocer, High Street; James Storey, bookseller, North Street; Samuel Law, John Turner, ditto; and to avoid suspicion, you had better take up myself; and on examining each of us separately, you shall be put in possession of what will astonish you. I expect you will communicate this to no one but government. Trust no one in this town till you have made everything secure. I must again covenant not to give up my friend.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

CHRISTOPHER GREENWOOD.
Cotton Manufacturer.

THE PLAN OF "TAKING UP" TO EXTORT INFORMATION.

A nameless correspondent, who writes a good letter, and a very neat hand, recommends the taking up of persons named, and that they be threatened, and so induced to give information. This informer wrote many letters, and generally signed "Your humble servant," ———. This fellow was a publican, for he asks the major to get Swan to pay his licence for him, as he had to give all his money to the brewers and distillers. He adds that his being in business will enable him to do much more good for the cause. This letter was written in 1803.

Bird, and nearly all the other ordinary informers,

recommend the taking up of men, to induce them to give information.

CONLON'S INFORMATION IN 1798, RESPECTING TEELING, TURNER, LOWRY, AND BYRNE.

The writer states that when the army left Newry to take persons who were to attend a meeting at Dundalk, Corcoran received information from an officer's servant where the party was going, upon which Corcoran got a horse, and rode to Dundalk, where he knew Mr. Turner had gone to a meeting. He arrived in Dundalk in time to disperse the meeting. Barclay [qy. *tly*], Teeling, Sam Turner, John Byrne, and Alexander Lowry retreated with Corcoran to the house of one Kelly, a farmer, about two small miles from Dundalk, where they hid themselves that night in a barn. In the morning Corcoran was ordered by them to go to Dundalk to know if there was any danger of the military; finding none, they went to Dundalk. Turner, Lowry, and Teeling went to Newry. Turner and Teeling hid themselves. Turner went to Dublin to Eastwood, the attorney, who sent him off. John Byrne gave Corcoran tests to give to Heffernan, M'Keogh, Michael Fagan, and James Doolan, and four to keep for others that might want them. There was a pass-word between Corcoran, John Byrne, and Teeling for putting informers out of the way. If either knew an informer, the informer was sent to the other with the password, viz., "Do you know Ormond Steel?" but there never was occasion for this. He knows Patrick Byrne to be a United Irishman, by seeing constitutions with him, but nothing more.

Corcoran always attended Teeling, Turner, and John Byrne on their travels to different parts of the north where they held meetings; the writer recollects the following places, viz.— Scotch Green at Dundalk, Newry, Glannary, Ronaldstown, Ballynahinch, Dublin, at Kearn's, Kildare Street, where the principal meetings were held.

LETTER FROM F. LAMB TO THE MAJOR, DENOUNCING THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

Francis Lamb, of Maynooth, says the duke has known him two years; Messrs. M'Gawley and Hughes, of George's Quay, knew him; on Saturday last a man, at Maynooth, told him a rising was to take place that night, and that 10,000 men were to join from Longford; he asked the priest of Maynooth College if he knew of it — said he did, and that the duke knew it too.

Examination of William Dunne, of Carlow, one of the prisoners taken up at Rathfarnham, and sent up by Robert Shaw, states the suspicious circumstances of the rebel song — "Paddy Evermore" — having been found in his hod.

LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.

March 25, 1803.

Stating, a meeting had taken place in Fleet Street, and that Edward Mooney, when they met, told them to come to one more private meeting. They then went to 21 Townsend Street. Patrick Merkif told them the business would be concluded by Easter, everything

would be ready; told him that it was Devereux, the gunsmith, made a great quantity of arms for them; he will find out where Condon is; when we get him, I believe, he can give you more information than any one you have got yet; it seems to me he was more in confidence than any of the rest.

I think by my being in the business (a publican), it will enable me to make out useful information for you; if your honour don't do something for me I must quit the business.

A LETTER FROM SOME INFORMER WITHOUT SIGNATURE.

Declaring he has been mindful of his (the major's) instructions, and making profession of ardent zeal in the cause. He (the writer) had been at different times and in different places introduced by James Dillon to United Irishmen. James Dillon was a cousin of Pat Dillon, of the White Bull, Thomas Street. Had been introduced to several other meetings by James Dillon; that he has not seen as yet any one resembling Dowdall, Allen, Stafford, Quigley, or Cummins, but hopes soon.

Houses for reception of Insurgents.— Almost every inn in Thomas Street have rooms set apart for them, Power and Son excepted. King Street, North, neighbourhood of the Clarks' foundry; Hodges's, Mass Lane, near Charles Street; a public-house just in the rear of John Street, and Eaden's, Hayes Court. Mallin's, Thomas Street, should be particularly noticed,— well as M'Dermott's, Dirty Lane.

Mem.— Edward Moran and two slaters, Walsh and Kelly, murdered Colonel Brown, headed by Byrne, publican, High Street. From Robert Burnett, 190 Great Britain Street.

LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.

Endorsed Wednesday, 30th March, 1803.

Informs the major of a meeting held the night before, at which were present James Kirwan, Edward Mooney; Grant, otherwise Vaughan, Miles M'Cabe; Captain Horish sent an apology. Heard of a serjeant of the 62nd Regiment, named James M'Donald, whom he is to meet at Livington's, in Liffey Street, "who brought over almost the whole regiment to the business."

Edward Mooney said he hoped, and he gave a toast to the effect of his wishes, which went round, "that shortly the Castle of Dublin would be in our hands."

DENUNCIATION OF COSTIGAN, THE DISTILLER, ETC.

A letter from W. Glascock to the major, states that the government should watch a Mr. Metcalf, etc., as suspicious.

An anonymous letter, informing the major that the 14th of August was the day appointed for a general rising in Dublin; that the servants of loyalists had got arms to destroy their masters in bed. From Dublin the massacre was to go on through the country, which would bring over the English then. On the 24th of August the French were to land in England; many great men, and some with red coats, were in the secret. The writer denounces Costigan, the distiller, of Thomas

Street, and a young man named Keegan, a desperate rebel," being "as big a rebel as can live."

Confidential letters of John and Bernard Gorman to the major.

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR.

April 23, 1803.

The writer states that Captain Murray, when he came up from town with Richardson's cattle, left the new signs, which are as follows: — The foremost finger of the right hand to give them to shake hands with; then the left hand upon the right breast; then asks — "show how far they have travelled." Their reply is —"as far as truth and justice." Dwyer was continually at Monastown, at Michael Byrne's, Castlehaven, and John Byrne's, Monastown.

Sir, you know my handwriting, so I need not write my name, for fear this letter be miscarried.

LETTER FROM HENRY HAYDEN TO MAJOR SIRR.

Dublin, 28th of May, 1803.

Offering to take Dwyer, on condition that he would be well rewarded; that he would be appointed to some situation in the country, near his residence, that he might get acquainted among those who harboured Dwyer; or get an ensign's pay and a permanent situation.

LETTER FROM THE REV. THOMAS ELRINGTON, D.D., PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, TO MAJOR SIRR.

June 7, 1803.

DEAR SIR,— Miss Bell having mentioned to me that you wished for a description of Robert Emmet, I send the best I can get of what he was five years ago. I know no person who can give you an account of the alteration that may have taken place in his figure since.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

THOMAS ELRINGTON.

In 1798 was near twenty years of age, of an ugly, sour countenance, small eyes, but not near-sighted; a dirty brownish complexion; at a distance looks as if somewhat marked with small pox; about five feet six inches high, rather thin than fat, but not of an emaciated figure; on the contrary, somewhat broad made; walks briskly, but does not swing his arms.

A LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.[1]

Recommending him to arrest William Horish, the master sweep, in his house in or near Dame Court or Exchequer Street, who will inform him of all matters that is going on, as he, Carroll, is well sensible of it. In his observations he says he thinks the tools is in the Widow Corrigan's, in this street, or in her friend Muley's concern, opposite to her, Spring-garden Lane.

[1] Probably to this letter the unfortunate Horish owed his terrible flogging in Beresford's riding house establishment for torturing suspected persons.— R. R. M.

Extract from the above-mentioned letter:—

I will insist on you to take one of the men who murdered Lord Kilwarden; he is recovered in Temple Bar. If you are not pleased to do this, I shall answer it with another magistrate. To let your honour see I am not humbugging, I will insist to be brought before Secretary Marsden, to let him understand what I have done for government. I will surely call on you to-morrow, at nine o'clock, as I have received no money this fortnight. I think I did not deserve such treatment, which time will tell. I shall ever remain government's most humble servant,

CARROLL.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR RESPECTING ROBERT EMMET.

Winifred Kavanagh, servant to Mrs. Palmer, Harold's Cross Road, near the Canal Bridge, examined 28th August, 1803, as to whether a Mr. Hewit or a Mr. Connynham ever was there.[1]

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR, IN RELATION TO MR. DAVID POWER.

David Power, who was implicated in the rebellion of 1798, and expelled college, turned approver, and was to have prosecuted at Cork.[2] He was on the table

[1] Winifred Kavanagh was servant in the house in which Robert Emmet was arrested. He went there under the name of Hewit, and sometimes of Connynham.— R. R. M.

[2] Mr. Power was arrested in Cork, and imprisoned for some time in Spike Island in 1798. The most extraordinary pains were taken to terrify him, with the view of inducing him to inform

against Conway, a watch maker, before Judge Day, did not prosecute, and was imprisoned two years. Is just arrived in Dublin, and is at the Mail-Coach Hotel. Says he is a captain in a militia regiment now on the coast of Devon: is now on business with Timothy O'Brien in Ship Street. Is about going to Tipperary or Cork.

This memorandum is endorsed: — Nowlan, 12 Little Ship Street, gunsmith, first floor, streetward: workshop backwards.

A gentleman at wine, sitting pensive. A white chest on the stairhead.

LETTER FROM MAJOR WINGFIELD TO MAJOR SIBB.

Cork Abbey, Aug. 4, 1803.

The writer says that Benjamin P. Binns, who was a plumber in employment at Cork Abbey some time before, should be looked after. Mentions that his glasses and decanters were all engraved with "Erin-go-bragh" and the "harp reversed, without the crown." Also counsels the major to look to Holmes the glassman, Denis Kelly, and Patrickson.

EDWARD WINGFIELD.[1]

against the suspected members of the Cork directory. Power was a talkative, indiscreet person, but unconnected with the rebellion. A Mr. Westropp worked upon him to give evidence on some of the trials; but, when the time came, he refused to give evidence against the prisoners, and, for his integrity, suffered two years' imprisonment. He published a letter after his expulsion from college in 1798, in the newspapers, professing feelings of excessive ardour, of a patriotic turn, and full of declared resolutions to die for his country. There was too much talk of dying for it, in this fiery and flowery epistle.— R. R. M.

[1] Colonel Edward Wingfield was a brother of Lord Powerscourt.

LETTER FROM MR. JOHN GIFFARD TO THE MAJOR.

August 11, 1803.

DEAR MAJOR,— The bearer is of the name of Connor, and was in the chancellor's book, as you were informed; but whether he is the identical murderer, I cannot pretend to say. I believe Counsellor T——— can identify him; if not, he must be held till we send for our man to Wexford.

Yours every truly,

JOHN GIFFARD.

LETTER FROM MR. DAN MAGUIRE TO THE MAJOR.

Black Pitts, August 11, 1803.

SIR,— I would have taken this liberty some time back, only expecting Mr. Tully's friendly interference with you. But, as the matter has been so long delayed, I now request your attention to my poor son, William Maguire, now in the Prevot. On the 23rd of last month, the poor boy, with Charles Daly (my apprentice to the rope-making business), was sent to get a witness to a trial expected to come on, wherein Mr. Tully is concerned, and in presence of Pat Kelly, the attorney, and one of the attorneys' corps; also to go White's Lane, on the way, for that purpose; when that business was finished, to go to Bloomfield, and see that the carman, Frank Murphy, brought some furniture from thence to Black Pitts. On their coming to Black Pitts, there were no beds there for them, and they went to my house in Francis Street, of which ——— is a partner; and on the Coombe they were met by Justice Drury, who will state the same fully. The boy is not sixteen

years of age, of mild, inoffensive manners; and, although he has been in Germany and Russia in my vessels, never offended mortal. No better child ever was. Rest assured, these are all facts, and that no party business ever entered his head, nor ever an oath escaped his lips.

Sincerely request your inquiry, whether these are the facts; if so, you will see the danger to the morals of so young and good a boy to be in such a place. Your humanity will, I am sure, excuse this trouble from

Your humble servant,

DAN MAGUIRE.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR OF A COMMUNICATION MADE TO HIM BY A GENTLEMAN BEYOND THE BLACKROCK.

Sunday, August 14, 1803.

The following information was this day confidentially communicated by a gentleman of loyalty and honour, who resides beyond Blackrock. "On Monday last, about three o'clock in the evening, Russell was seen entering a house which is next Judge Foxe's — in a lane which is a *cul-de-sac* — some time after unknown persons were seen entering the same house, and afterwards, as the person who saw this transaction asserts, Doctor Brennan followed them into this house. The same person asserts that Surgeon Wright, with three other persons,[1] travels to the Rock in a jingle, every day at the same hour."

[1] The three persons referred to, from an endorsement on this paper, appear to have been Teeling, Drew, and Jonathan Gray, Usher's Quay.— R. R. M.

FROM E. NEWENHAM, ESQ., TO MAJOR SIRR.

Blackrock, August 19, 1803.

SIR,— As I find, on my return here, that you did not succeed on the information I gave you about arms and suspected persons, I think proper to state to you that I was your anonymous correspondent, and I do so lest it might induce you to doubt all such anonymous correspondence. My information, I find, was perfectly well-founded, but all was contrived to secrete both men and arms. On the Monday morning following, five strangers left the town, and took different roads to the county of Wicklow. One was seen going into Tinnehinch, rather well dressed, and had a military gait in walking.

As I am not able these eight months to carry arms, or walk but little, and as I am in a very exposed skirt of this village, my name is now given to you in strict confidence. Add to this, certain persons are very rancorous in their speeches about me, therefore I would be in nightly danger of assassination if my name was known. We are much in want of a few military in the place of the Cavan militia, who have left us; for though our yeomen are brave and spirited men, yet they are not fully trained.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

EDWARD NEWENHAM.

MR. KEMMIS TO THE MAJOR.

MY DEAR MAJOR,— We shall want Patrick M'Cabe, Thomas Hannon, and William Hannon, and the wife

of Thomas, at the Sessions-House, Green Street, on Wednesday morning, as the trials are to commence.—Yours truly,

THOMAS KEMMIS.

Dublin, August 23, 1803.

Would you be so good to direct Hanlon to have Mary Airie sent to me.

LETTER FROM JOHN LIDWELL TO MAJOR SIRR.

3 Fishamble Street, Dublin,
August 17, 1803.

Communicating information the writer got from a woman, a Protestant, who got it from one of the rebels, to whom she passed herself off as one of them, that there were pikes sufficient for all Ireland in Newtown Mount Kennedy, with arms, ammunition, etc.; and that had Tallaght been searched at night, they would have found near 2,000 muskets, etc.; but now they act cautiously, keeping them buried in the earth, being well covered with woollen cloths, to hinder them getting rusty in the earth.

Says, if the late Secretary Cooke was in town, he would remember him for his loyalty and usefulness to government in 1798, as he wrote him several letters he was thankful for; and Captain Beresford, Lords Castlereagh and Roden, all of them knew him.

[The writing and orthography of this letter is so bad, it can scarce be read.]

MURTOCH LACEY TO MAJOR SIRR.

August 19, 1803.

Sir,— I take the opportunity of telling you that I am now on my keeping for what I cold not help; but, if you be pon honner with me, I will tell you nuf. Murthey Lacey is my name, and I was to join that core in John Heifferan's house. Bay himself, he was the man that swore me. My name is Murthey Lacey; we both live in the town of Kildare — sol if you parding me, I will tell yoo anuf; sol yo may send me word to Mr. Hilles, the postmaster, he vill tell my wife, if you forgive me — yo may have Heifferan taken at about Thursday next. I CAN BRING IN THIRTY-SEVEN.

To Major Sirr, to The Casel of Dublin,
to his office.

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR.

Subject — Offering to give information against a most suspicious person, whom he knows, if he be recompensed; says he gave information to Lord Westmeath in 1795, and appeared before the Select Committee of Lords, but got nothing for it.

Quotations.—"I saw yesterday a most suspicious character, a resident of Thomas Street, or Dirty Lane, and that neighbourhood, but which, since the late business, he has forsaken, skulking in a most suspicious part of the town, dreadfully wounded in the hand, apparently with musket shot; he is an intimate of Mr. Murphy's, and, I think, you had him the last rebellion; he is also an intimate of Patrick M'Cormick, the noted tinker of High Street; and it occurred to me that, were

he apprehended and interrogated, something might come out to throw light on the horrid night of the 23rd, for which purpose I watched him, and know his haunts. Now, Sir, I am a very poor man, and if you think him worthy of notice, and will mention, by advertizement in "Saunders," to the purport as at foot, I will inform you all the particulars I know about him.

"'Money.— Anonymous shall receive ——— guineas for the communication he proposes.'

"Please fill the blank with the utmost that will be given, and, if liked, you shall receive particulars."

FROM W. H. HUME,— DENUNCIATION OF DOYLE, A WICKLOW MAN, TO THE MAJOR.

August 20, 1803.

The writer says that he has heard of the apprehension, in Dublin, of Doyle, who was a rebel captain, and had served between Blessington and Tallaght.

I am informed, by good authority, that he has been very active, and can give much information, if you can work it out of him.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR.

Dublin Castle, August 14, 1803.

Anthony Moore and Walter Tyrell, owners of the house in Stephen's Lane, where the Currens were taken.

Thomas Curren, Edward Curren, and Michael Curren, brothers, from Jamestown, county Westmeath; James Curren and Daniel Curren, from Gaybrook, Westmeath; taken by Captain Abbot, on Saturday, the 13th of August. H. C. Sirr.

A MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR.

Dublin Castle, August 22, 1803.

Stating that he, Major Sirr, had received useful information, from time to time, from a man named J. Houston, who had formerly given useful information to Lord Carhampton, of the designs of the conspirators of the Hill of Howth, where he resided. Has latterly acquainted him, the major, with their designs respecting the meditated attack on the Pigeon House by water; and, as the informant was a midshipman in the navy, it was thought his enterprising disposition would be useful in the undertaking — William Corr and one John Sweeny.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR'S.

Benjamin Adams came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that on the night of the 23rd of July, 1803, Owen Kirwan assembled with a large body of pikemen and rebels of different descriptions, and on that same night he commanded the party of rebels that went through Plunket Street, and he called to the inhabitants of that neighbourhood to take up arms or pikes against the government, and that whoever would not take up the arms should be put to death the following day.

LETTER FROM R. SMYTHE TO MAJOR SIRR.

Drogheda, May 31, 1804.

States, he has seen John Carroll; that he will remain there until he has settled the business, and that he will do the needful.

LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR, SIGNED JOHN DILLON, BUT APPARENTLY IN THE HANDWRITING OF CARROLL.

Pormanstown, Ballybriggan, May 31, 1804.

States having seen Captain Smyth; had been at two meetings in the country — one last Sunday, the next on Monday, at the Bull, at the bridge foot of Gormanstown. There were nine men delegated from the country round — one of the name of Brennan, "an eminent farmer." That he, Dillon, passed himself off as a delegate from Dublin.

LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR FROM CONLAN.

Stating, that when the army left Newry, in 1798, to take the people at the meeting at Dundalk, Corcoran received information from an officer's servant where they were going, upon which Corcoran got a horse and made off to Dundalk, where Turner had gone to a meeting; he arrived in time to disperse the meeting.

Bazeley, Teeling, Samuel Turner, John Byrne, and Alexander Lowry, went with him to one Kelly's, a farmer, at about two miles, where they hid themselves that night in a barn; in the morning they sent Corcoran to Dundalk, to see if there was any danger; finding none, they went — Turner, Lowry, and Teeling, went to Newry; Turner and Teeling hid themselves; Turner went to Dublin, to Eastwood's, the attorney, who sent him off; John Byrne gave Corcoran tests to give to Heffernan, —— Keogh, Michael Fagan, and James Doolan, and four to keep for others who might want them. There was a password between Corcoran, John Byrne, and Teeling, for putting informers out of the way of their friends.

FROM JOHN WOLFE TO MAJOR SIRR.

April 3, 1804.

Hoping the major will try to get the reward, which was offered for the taking of Wylde and Mahon, for the woman who gave information, on which they would have succeeded but for the mismanagement of Drury.

From Carroll asking for five guineas, and says he hopes soon to complete the business; thinks the tools are making by three principal men of this city.

A plan to take James Hughes and his party (generally of thirty men) by sending parties from Blessington to Ballydaniel, from Tallow to Ballanascorning, etc.

FROM THE REV. MR. PRATT.

Newry, July 17, 1804.

Stating that MacCabe, the rebel, had been in the town, and had the impudence to appear upon the military parade; that he had been at Portadown, county Armagh, and in Downpatrick.

THE MAJOR IN WANT OF A PROSECUTOR.

Memorandum of the major.— O'Ferrall, an officer in Keating's regiment; Dunne, county Wicklow; Hastings, Kildare; Dempsey and Son; Cogan, Wexford; Kelly, the two Andersons, Dublin; and Foley, Flood, and Joyce, Conolly's men, "are noted United Irishmen, but have no prosecutor."

WYLDE AND MAHON.

Memorandum of Major Sirr.— Wylde and Mahon, and with them often M'Mahon, have been occasionally concealed at Mahon's brother's, at Green Hills, at Frayne's, near Rathcoffey, at Quigley's, and at an alehouse, probably Costello's, at the Cork Bridge, and at the jailer's, in Philipstown, who is married to Wylde's sister; his name is Morrow.

FROM A YEOMANRY OFFICER (JOHN CAULFIELD), RESPECTING AN ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE WYLDE AND MAHON, TO MAJOR SIRR, 1798.

DEAR SIR,— In consequence of your information, I reached the jail of Philipstown, and also another house in the town, where I thought it likely that Wylde and Mahon might be concealed, but did not meet them there. I then thought it possible that they might be in a house at Ballycommon, within two miles of Philipstown, which the jailer of Philipstown had lately taken. On consulting Captain Dodgson, Fourth Dragoon guards, and Lieut. Sherlock, of my yeomen troop, we thought it the most likely way of taking them would be by surprise, and, in consequence, we went there a little after eleven o'clock, A. M. Just as we got there the door was shut *on us*, and I sent off Lieut. Sherlock for a detachment of the yeomen. Captain Dodgson and I determined to watch the house till the guard came up, and in consequence, we took post on the flank of the house. We were immediately obliged to retire: the house having a parapet wall all around it, the persons within threw down stones and flags on us, and on retiring from the

house we saw men looking over the parapet wall, one with a blunderbuss, the other with pistols, another aiming a shot at Captain Dodgson, which, unfortunately, killed him; two more were fired at me, by one of which I was slightly wounded. Captain Dodgson had fired one shot, and I fired three, and, I am sorry to say, without effect, and by the captain's unfortunate death and my wound, the villains made their escape.

The jailer at Philipstown and wife are in confinement.

The house the villains were in is an uncommon strong one, and I understand since that a report was in the country that some deserters harboured there, which put them on their guard, and that being the case, nothing but cannon could dislodge them. They left behind them in the house a pound of powder and six pounds of ball. I had parties of military out immediately after them, but the bogs being close by to the house and so extensive, they have hitherto eluded our search, though I am still in hopes they may be taken, as I think they have not left the country. They took their arms with them. Major Norris has the yeomanry still out in every direction in search of them.

I remain, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

JOHN CAULFIELD.

Mem.— In the précis book of the correspondence of the Kildare magistrates with the government, in 1803, there is the following entry, which in all probability is the substance of the information on which Caulfield and Dodgson acted.[1]

[1] Dr. Madden thinks that the information on which Dodgson

"Frayne says there are five men now at Oberstown, within a mile of Naas; their names are, Wylde, Mahon, M'Mahon, Stafford, and Edward Power. Says there are five stone of ball-cartridges, two fire-locks, two blunderbusses, and a great number of pistols, concealed in a fallow field in Rathcoffey — the corner field, where three roads meet, opposite Quigley's garden; and five suits of green uniform, with lace and epaulets, in the warren in the demesne of Rathcoffey."

Elsewhere it is stated:—"William Sheridan says Quigley and the two Barretts set off this day fortnight and went to the county Galway, to the Barretts' father, who lives within ten miles of Galway, on Mr. Blake's estate. Quigley is to write in a week from thence to his mother, stating where he is. The letter to be directed to old Paddy ——, of Rathcoffey, and is to be written so as not to be understood by any person except the friends of Quigley."— R. R. M.

"JEMMY O'BRIEN."

A memorial of O'Brien to the Lord Lieutenant, dated July, 1800, praying remission of the sentence of death passed on him for the murder of John Hoey. A letter of Lord Castlereagh to Major Sirr, stating he had re-

and Caulfield acted came from Kildare; but it appears by the letter that it came from Dublin. Caulfield's letter addressed to Major Sirr, says, "In consequence of *your* information, I reached Philipstown." On the two previous occasions when Major Sirr had laid hands on Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the information came from Magan. Dr. Madden in printing this letter, erroneously assigns to it the date 1798; but the original MS. displays "December 17, 1803."

Fitzpatrick "Secret Service Under Pitt," 138–.

ferred the memorial to Judge Day and Baron Yelverton. Unfavorable report of judges. The following words endorsed on memorial:—"O'Brien was distinctly a murdered man. His own statement was the truth. He was a calumniated, honest, and brave man."—J. D. S.

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR — LARRY TIGHE.

"Larry Tighe was often invited by S. C. to be up."

There can be little doubt Sylvester Costigan, the distiller, was the person alluded to, for his name occurs on the back of the same document in another note of Sirr's.— R. R. M.

FROM LUKE BRIEN (INFORMER), OF 35 FRANCIS STREET, TO MAJOR SIRR, RESPECTING MESSRS. FITZPATRICK AND MERRITT.

Lamenting the wickedness of the times, the lower order drinking whiskey on the Sabbath; regretting he had not been yet able to do anything respecting Fitzpatrick and Merritt (brother of the silk-mercer of Capel Street), "but does not despair of coming round the latter yet."

J. F. H.!!!

A postscript of a letter from Mr. Joel Hulbert, of Monastereven, dated 4th August, 1803, addressed to Sir John Macartney, 31 Merrion Street, and evidently placed in the major's hands by the latter. The postscript is written on the back of the page bearing the superscription, and was mistaken by me at first for a

separate letter, beginning with sir, date, etc. The purport of it is an inquiry about a Mr. James W. Osborne, once a member of the attorneys' corps, and now is of Mr. Cassidy's corps. This postscript is signed J. F. H., while the letter that precedes it on two sides of the same sheet is signed Joel Hulbert. This document is to be found in the book of the major's papers, labelled letters, 1803, class N. tab. 4, N. 10.[1]

[1] An omission of an important circumstance occurs in the notice to the appendix to the preceding series of Spies and Informers, in the reference to the correspondence of a Mr. Joel F. Hulbert with Major Sirr. In Major Sirr's original correspondence with spies and informers, a letter of Joel F. Hulbert, dated from Monastereven, August, 1803, informs the major of a meeting of disaffected people at Barnwell's, at Kilmainham.

A person named Joel Hulbert, a carver and gilder, in 1800 obtained the situation of collector of the tolls on the Grand Canal at Monastereven, and died there about 1816. He left two sons, George and William, both of whom got situations as toll collectors on the same canal. The name of Joel Hulbert, a carver and gilder residing at No. 12 Camden street, Dublin, first appears in the Dublin directory for the year 1798, and disappears from it in the directory for 1800. In the directory for 1798 we find also the following names and addresses:—George and William Hulbert, carvers and gilders, No. 36 Dawson Street. But in the directory for 1799, Messrs. George and William Hulbert make their exit and are no more to be heard of in the list of merchants and traders of the city of Dublin.

Mr. Hulbert the informer, residing in Monastereven in 1803, who corresponded with Major Sirr, it will be borne in mind, in one of his letters signs "Joel Hulbert," and another "J. F. H." This person was no ordinary member of the battalion of testimony, who was enabled to abandon his business in Dublin in 1799, whose sons were also enabled to do the same, and who were placed in comfortable situations in Mountmellick and Philipstown, of the same nature as he was placed in Monastereven, offering great facilities in very important localities for the purposes which were served by this informer.

BERNARD DUGGAN.

A vast number of letters to the major, from March, 1805, to October, 1822, from this vilest of the vile band of informers, denouncing various parties, and making tours of espionage throughout the country by the major's orders, getting hold of the lower orders especially, playing the part of a flaming patriot, and betraying his unfortunate dupes into the meshes of the law. His first letter to the major is dated March 11, 1805, praying, through his influence, to be released from jail, where he has been confined for upwards of a year. From the above mentioned date B. Duggan figures as a free man and an informer of the basest character. The 21st of October, 1820, he writes to the major:—

"I beg leave to state to you for the good of government, it is absolutely necessary to keep up my consequence, as I have ever done." And then the truculent old ruffian requires to have a sum of ten pounds sent to him. On the 3rd of August, 1821, he writes to the major: "If the Catholics are emancipated, when they get into any degree of power, they will rouse the public into fury and madness." I have dined in 1836 in the company of this miscreant at the table of a member of the old Catholic Association, where he had out-Heroded Herod in declarations of zeal for the cause of his creed and country.— R. R. M.

The major prefixes to B. Duggan's correspondence a memorandum, wherein he says there was no doubt but that Duggan was the man who shot Mr. Darragh in Kildare in the early part of 1791, and who fired at Mr. Clarke, the magistrate, when he was coming in on

the 22nd of July, 1803, to give the government notice of the approaching insurrection on the 23rd; and the major concludes his memorandum with these very remarkable words: "The government had frequent information given them of that insurrection on the 23rd July, 1803, and on that day they paid no attention to it. Major Sirr and Edward Wilson, the chief-constable, were the only two official persons that were *au fait*. This accounts for the great attention since paid by government to the most trifling information threatening disturbance." The last documents in the book relating to Duggan, are receipts of his, one for one hundred pounds from the major, dated 7th November, 1821, and another receipt of his for sixty pounds, dated 9th October, 1822.

MR. PAT LONG.

The most systematic espionage detailed in the book of the major's correspondence with spies and informers, from 1803 to 1830, is the journal of an anonymous informer, who kept a regular diary of his proceedings during the months of November and December, 1804, and January and February, 1805, tracking the steps, watching the movements, and dogging a suspected gentleman from place to place, morning, noon, and night, always either at his heels or near his house, evidently a person of high station and consequence, who is only designated throughout the journals as Mr. H. The entries in the journal always commence thus: Pat. Long says he saw Mr. H. at such an hour or such a place, etc.

I knew Mr. Patrick Long intimately in my childhood;

he was in the habit of frequenting my father's house, and by every one except my father was suspected of being an informer.

Mr. H. is frequently spoken of as going to court (the law courts), and returning from them with Mr. Lawson.

J. M'D., AN INFORMER.

There are many letters of a Mr. J. M'D., who seems to have been in the same line as Mr. Patrick Long. J. M'D. seems to have been especially set on Sylvester Costigan, the distiller, and Mr. D'Arcy, a brewer or distiller, with the view of entrapping two affluent traders of a suspected faith.

THE LAST HORRIBLE POPISH PLOT — THE INFORMER Z.

On the 24th and 27th of December, 1830, a gentleman under this signature, obviously from his handwriting an educated man, and from the style of his two long statements addressed to the major, a person of considerable acquirements, and one very intimately acquainted with the college lives and career of Roman Catholic clergymen both at home and abroad, gave himself the trouble of imposing on the government, whatever his object or design might be, whether to gratify cupidity or resentment, or to practise a hoax on the major, by furnishing a detailed account of secret machinations of most dangerous character, carried on by a number of Roman Catholic gentlemen and clergy, chiefly at the house of a Mr. M'Sweeny, No. 10 D'Olier Street, where on one occasion at a meeting it was announced that "twenty-three agents or officers," all young clergy-

men of Carlow or Maynooth, had been dispatched to various parts of the country, all by different coaches, and that all of them received their letters of instruction at Battersby's of Parliament Street (poor W. J. Battersby, the bookseller, the least dangerous of men to his sovereign or the state). At that meeting the writer says there were present John Coyne, W. Battersby, Thomas Reynolds, Pat. Serenius Kelly, two monks from Clondalkin, a priest, and several other gentlemen, all persons, to the author of this work at least, well known never to have taken any part in revolutionary plots or conspiracies.

In the second statement several priests are made to figure in the Guy Fawkes line, and, amongst others, the Right Rev. Dr. Blake. This was the last mare's nest discovered by the major or disclosed to him: Othello's occupation was pretty well gone at the date of these disclosures. The major made his *début* on the official stage in the solemn tragedy of "State Terror," and took leave of it in the ludicrous farce of "The Battersby Plot, or a hoax on the patron of Jemmy O'Brien."

APPENDIX VI

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL PRÉCIS BOOK OF THE KILDARE MAGISTRATES' PROCEEDINGS

MINUTES OF EXAMINATIONS AND INFORMATIONS IN 1803.

October, 1803.

WILLIAM VALLANCE, slater, of Naas, gave information against many Naas people, as having met them on the road going to Dublin, between four and six o'clock, 23rd July. John Patterson, butcher, had many people with him: — John Doyle, of Tipper, a miller; John Dunn, of Naas, a baker; Patrick Daniel, carpenter, Naas; John Beirne, of Hill, carpenter; Daniel Brophy, brewer, Naas.

Before Solicitor-General and Colonel Wolfe, J.P., 3rd October, 1803.

John Reynolds, apprentice to Surgeon Bolton, in Dublin 23rd July. Said his father was a loyal man; died in Naas in 1802; saw Lord Kilwarden's carriage stopped, from his uncle's window in Thomas Street.

Peter Hamilton told by John Duff and Martin, all of Naas, there was a French officer in Naas, organizing the people, and that Dwyer was to go to Dublin with a great force.

Richard Flood, baker, of Kilcullen Bridge, said to be the principal leader, gave out the orders.

Two of the Naas men killed the night of the 23rd in Dublin.

Cause of the failure attributed to their turning out two hours before the time appointed.

Peter Hamilton examined.— Stated, about a month before the rising, saw 150 or 200 men going down the banks of the canal to exercise by night, close to Ladytown. The intention was to take Naas; to attack it at nine o'clock in the evening, when the time came.

That Kiernan Lackey was in correspondence with the Naas people; lives in Dublin, corner of Temple Lane, at Dolmar's; that he had killed a Scotch corporal; that he was a great coiner.

LIST OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF NAAS, ETC.

Daniel Brophy went out from Naas to raise the country, 23rd of July.

William Andrews, publican, rode out from Naas, 21st of July, for the rising on the 23rd, and his house a place of meeting for rebels.

Benj. Bushell, nailer, rode out from Naas on July 21, for the rising on 23rd.

Richard Scott, skinner, went out from Naas on the 21st July, to raise the country on the 23rd.

Pat. Dunn, publican, Naas; meetings at his house frequently of rebels.

Matthew Dodd, publican; meetings at his house frequently — meetings of rebels.

John Patterson, butcher, left Dublin in the evening, 23rd July, to stop Kildare rebels.

James Toole, shoemaker, went to Dublin 23rd July; with Doyle, the miller.

Hamilton says the serjeant (Duff) gave the orders; went to the houses of meeting; dropped the written orders, but said nothing; no name to them.

Matthew Dodd examined.— Said that Mr. Madden, a grocer in Bridge Street, on the 23rd of July, at four o'clock, told him that a disturbance would break out that evening in Dublin.

Dowling, Blackhall Row Market, *a whitesmith;* much visited by the Naas men on the 23rd of July.

A great many carpenters of the Naas men, who went to Dublin on the 23rd. Michael M'Daniel one.

Richard Eustace examined.— Says Pat Rorke had twelve *perch* (query pikes), Cushion one hundred perch, in Thomas Street, Farrell's eating-house.

William M'Dermot, a publican, Naas, a distressed man, and likely to give information that would be useful, in Dublin on the 23rd.

Richard Lynch, in Dublin the 23rd.

James Corcoran, in Dublin 23rd July.

Simon Cullen, shoemaker, in Dublin 23rd July; a leader of the rebels last rebellion.

Pat. White, carpenter, in Dublin 23rd July. Strong symptoms of guilt on being examined, and likely to give information.

Daniel Dolan, publican, in Dublin 23rd July.

John Doyle, miller, a leader, in Dublin 23rd July.

John Dunn, baker, of Naas, in Dublin 23rd July.

John Keating, labourer, in Dublin 23rd July.

Two M'Mahons, one of them killed, it is supposed

on the 23rd July; the other lately returned, and was in Dublin 23rd of July.

Michael M'Daniel, publican, Johnstown, in Dublin on the 23rd of July.

Tierney, of Sallins, not returned, and supposed to be killed.

Shawn King, not returned, and supposed to be killed.

James Byrne, baker, Naas, in Dublin, and taken with a pike; convicted and executed on Lazor's Hill.

David Cassidy, in Dublin, as well as Michael.

James Tracy, coal factor, Naas; went to Dublin, 23rd July, with Doyle, the miller, and Toole, the shoemaker.

Michael Kelly, present when Lord Kilwarden was killed.

George Kelly, of Mandlins, mason, distributed money to the rebels at Johnstown, the 23rd July.

John Byrne, of Kill, publican, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Jordan, of Kill, tailor, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Myles Hanlon, of Kill, publican, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Gillespie, of Kill, blacksmith, in Dublin, 23rd July.

Michael Dalton, of Johnstown, clerk to Kennedy, the miller, one of the leaders in the last rebellion.

Daniel Byrne, of Tipper; meetings held at his house; in prison for treason last rebellion.

Michael Kilroy, of Naas, in Dublin, 23rd July, and fled in the battle.

An apprentice to Plunkett, butcher, in Naas, went to Dublin on the 23rd July, but not returned; supposed to be killed.

One hundred and fifty people left Naas for Dublin on 23rd July.

John Walker, of Johnstown, herd to Brophy, the ————, Dublin.

Martin Byrne, of Blackchurch; his house a place of meeting for rebels.

Peter Burchell, of Kilteel, a farmer and an esquire, returning from town on 23rd July, was met by a party at the Canal Bridge, and brought back to town. A timid man, and likely to give useful information.

Costigan (the distiller, of Thomas Street) had two rebel officers to dine with him the 23rd.

Madden lives corner of the new street from Corn Market, at that corner next New Row; counselled the Naas rebels that night in Dublin.

Halpin, the distiller, or brewer, an active rebel. Grange, a distiller in Dublin, has a store in Naas. One of them is ————. Their clerks came down to Naas to raise, 20th of July,————, and gave the orders for the country, and the four first in the list executed their orders.

John Mahon, formerly servant to William B. Ponsonby, a leader in Thomas Street, 23rd July.

Widow Ryan's, 99 Thomas Street, the place where the Naas men met (within three doors of John's Lane).

John Peppard, of Athy, shopkeeper, got three casks of gunpowder from Cork gunpowder office.

Mr. William Murphy, of Smithfield, set out on Friday, 22nd July, and rode through Kildare, raising the country.[1]

[1] The gentleman above referred to informed me, the statement

Nicholas Gray, secretary to B. B. Harvey, 23rd July.

Thomas Fitzgerald, of Geraldine; if in Dublin, is at Seapoint.

Conran, of Castle Corner, superintendent of Lady Ormond's works; in Dublin the 23rd July, and a leader of rebels.

Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffey, a leader, had been out of the kingdom, and came back prior to the outbreak in 1803.

Richard Eustace, Naas, carpenter; in Dublin 23rd, when examined there for expectations held out to him.

The White Bull Inn, a rendezvous of the Naas men, the 23rd of July.

Rourke kept the "Yellow Bottle Inn," in Thomas Street.

of his taking any part in the insurrection of 1803 was utterly unfounded. He had no knowledge of it. I showed him the original book, in which an account for his suspected treason was duly opened, with his name and occupation in large letters at the head of the page, and with a mysterious * prefixed to it. He laughed when he read the account of his riding through Kildare on the 22nd of July, 1803, raising the country, and, after some minutes' conversation, said he remembered perfectly riding from Dublin to Wicklow and the borders of Kildare, with his friend, Mr. B—— C——, on the day specified. The object of this Sunday excursion was the trial of a horse newly purchased by Mr. M. He remembered the circumstance, he stated, because Emmet's insane attempt was made the next day.

APPENDIX VII

THE manifesto of the provisional government, drawn up by Robert Emmet, and found at the depot in Marshalsea-lane, was produced on the trial of Edward Kearney. Lieutenant Coltman, of the 9th regiment, proved that several bundles of this document were found in the depot "quite wet from the press." Extracts from the documents have been published, and the entire manifesto that was produced on Kearney's trial is given in Ridgeway's Report; but, knowing the unscrupulous conduct of the government agents of that day with respect to such documents, I thought it desirable to give an exact copy of the original paper, the authenticity of which might be depended on. I am indebted to Miss M'Cracken for the copy of that document, and of the proclamation annexed to it, which were found among Russell's papers:

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"You are now called upon to show the world that you are competent to take your place among nations; that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence — your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the development of this system — which has been organised within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance — which has been conducted with a tranquillity mistaken for obedience — which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated — in the development of this system you will show to the people of England that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress; you will show to them that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count on its obedience, under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them that the question which it now behoves them to take into serious consideration is not whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will drive us beyond separation — whether they will, by a sanguinary resistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds, by a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and reasonable determination. If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence which was once lost by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of

terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be the signal of insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution, and, in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound at the same time to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We therefore solemnly declare that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland; that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives; that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our posts, until the acknowledgment of its independence is obtained from England; and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration on which we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralysed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost in its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the north to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression.

"Men of Leinster! stand to your arms; to the cour-

age which you have already displayed is your country indebted for the confidence which truth feels in its own strength, and for the dismay with which our enemies will be overcome when they find this effort to be universal. But, men of Leinster, you owe more to your country than the having animated it by your past example — you owe more to your own courage than the having obtained protection by it. If six years ago you rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against you alone than are now in the country at large, you were able to remain six weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what will you now effect, with that capital and every other part of Ireland ready to support you? But it is not on this head we have need to address you. No: we now speak to you, and, through you, to the rest of Ireland, on a subject dear to us even as the success of our country — its honour. You are accused by your enemies of having violated that honour by excesses, which they themselves had in their fullest extent provoked, but which they have grossly exaggerated, and which have been attributed to you. The opportunity for vindicating yourselves by actions is now for the first time in your power, and we call upon you to give the lie to such assertions, by carefully avoiding all appearance of intoxication, plunder, or revenge; recollecting that you lost Ireland before, not from want of courage, but from not having that courage rightly directed by discipline. But we trust that your past sufferings have taught you experience, and that you will respect the declaration we now make; which we are determined by every means in

our power to enforce. The nation alone has the right, and alone possesses the power of punishing individuals, and whosoever shall put another to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the Provisional Government of Ireland is to claim from the English government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and for this purpose it will retain, as hostages for their safe return, such adherents of that government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect such hostages, and to recollect that in spilling their blood they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies.

"The intention of the Provisional Government is to resign its functions as soon as the nation shall have chosen its delegates, but in the meantime it is determined to enforce the regulations hereunto subjoined; it in consequence takes the property of the country under its protection, and will punish with the utmost rigour any person who shall violate that property, and thereby injure the resources and future prosperity of Ireland.

"Whosoever refuses to march to any part of the country he is ordered, is guilty of disobedience to the government, which alone is competent to decide in what place his service is necessary, and which desires him to recollect that in whatever part of Ireland he is fighting, he is still fighting for its freedom. Whoever presumes, by acts or otherwise, to give countenance to the calumny propagated by our enemies, that this is a religious contest, is guilty of the grievous crime, that of

belying the motives of the country. Religious disqualifications are but one of the many grievances of which Ireland has to complain. Our intention is to remove not that only, but every other oppression under which we labour. We fight that all of us may have our country; and that done, each of us shall have our religion.

"We are aware of the apprehensions which you have expressed, that, in quitting your own countries you leave your wives and your children in the hands of your enemies; but on this head have no uneasiness. If there are still men base enough to persecute those who are unable to resist, show them by your victories that you have the power to punish, and by your obedience that you have the power to protect; and we pledge ourselves to you that these men shall be made to feel that the safety of everything they hold dear depends on the conduct they observe to you. Go forth then with confidence, conquer the foreign enemies of your country, and leave to us the care of preserving its internal tranquillity. Recollect that not only the victory, but also the honour of your country is placed in your hands; give up your private resentments, and show to the world that the Irish are not only a brave, but also a generous and forgiving people.

"Men of Munster and Connaught, you have your instructions — you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you; your own strength is unbroken. Five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance; we now call upon you to show, what you then declared you only wanted the opportunity of proving, that you possess

the same love of liberty and the same courage with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.

"We turn now to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices we had rather overcome by a frank declaration of our intentions, than conquer in the field; and, in making this declaration, we do not wish to dwell on events which, however they may bring tenfold odium on their authors, must still tend to keep alive in the minds both of the instruments and victims of them a spirit of animosity, which it is our wish to destroy. We will enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppressions which Ireland has laboured under during its connection with England; but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement, that during six hundred years she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during that time five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to enter into a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connection, by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriously bribed, and not representing the will of the people; that, in vindication of this measure, she has herself given the justification of the views of the United Irishmen, by declaring, in the words of her ministers, 'That Ireland never had, and never could enjoy, under the then circumstances, the benefits of British connection; that it necessarily must happen, when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by the greater; that England had supported and encouraged the Eng-

lish colonists in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects and more degrading in its nature, than that in which it was found six centuries before.'[1] Now to what cause are these things to be attributed? Did the curse of the Almighty keep alive a spirit of obstinacy in the minds of the Irish people for six hundred years? Did the doctrines of the French revolution produce five rebellions? Could the misrepresentations of ambitious, designing men drive from the mind of a whole people the recollection of defeat, and raise the infant from the cradle with the same feelings with which his father sank to the grave? Will this gross avowal, which our enemies have made of their own views, remove none of the calumny that has been thrown upon ours? Will none of the credit which has been lavished on them be transferred to the solemn declaration which we now make in the face of God and our country?

"We war not against property — we war against no religious sect — we war not only against past opinions or prejudices — we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men who, not because they have supported the government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of a government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tran-

[1] Lord Castlereagh's speech.

quillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free-quarter, rape, and murder, by the side of the sufferer or their relations; but in the frankness with which we warn those men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have passed this boundary of mediation count on their safety.

"We had hoped, for the sake of our enemies, to have taken them by surprise, and to have committed the cause of our country before they could have time to commit themselves against it; but, though we have not altogether been able to succeed, we are yet rejoiced to find that they have not come forward with promptitude on the side of those who have deceived them; and we now call upon them, before it is yet too late, not to commit themselves against a people which they are unable to resist, and in support of a government which, by their own declaration, had forfeited its claim to their allegiance. To that government, in whose hands, though not the issue, at least the features with which the present contest is marked or placed, we now turn. How is it to be decided? Is open and honourable force alone to be resorted to? or is it your intention to employ those laws which custom has placed in your hands, and to force us to employ the law of retaliation in our defence?

"Of the inefficacy of a system of terror, in preventing the people of Ireland from coming forward to assert their freedom, you have already had experience. Of the effect which such a system will have on our minds, in case of success, we have already forewarned you. We now address to you another consideration: if, in the question which is now to receive a solemn and

we trust final decision — if we have been deceived, reflection would point out that conduct should be resorted to which was best calculated to produce conviction on our minds.

"What would that conduct be?

"It would be to show us that the difference of strength between the two countries is such as to render it unnecessary for you to bring out all your forces; to show that you have something in reserve to crush hereafter, not only a greater exertion of the people, but one rendered still greater by foreign assistance. It would be to show us that what we vainly supposed to be a prosperity growing beyond your grasp, is only a partial exuberance, requiring but the pressure of your hand to reduce to form.

"But, for your own sakes, do not resort to a system which, while it increased the acrimony of our minds, would leave us under the melancholy delusion that we had been forced to yield, not to the sound and temperate exertions of superior strength, but to the frantic struggle of weakness concealing itself under desperation.— Consider that the distinction of rebel and enemy is of a very fluctuating nature; that during the course of your own experience you have already been obliged to lay it aside; that should you be obliged to abandon it towards Ireland, you cannot hope to do so as tranquilly as you have done towards America; for in the exasperated state to which you have roused the minds of the Irish people — a people whom you profess to have left in a state of barbarism and ignorance — with what confidence can you say to that people: 'While the advantage of cruelty lay upon our side we

slaughtered you without mercy, but the measure of your own blood is beginning to preponderate. It is no longer our interest that this bloody system should continue. Show us then that forbearance which we never taught you by precept or example, lay aside your resentment, give quarter to us, and let us mutually forget we never gave quarter to you.' Cease, then, we entreat you, uselessly to violate humanity, by resorting to a system inefficacious as a mode of defence — inefficacious as a mode of conviction — ruinous to the future relations of the two countries in case of our success, and destructive of those instruments of defence which you will then find it doubly necessary to have preserved unimpaired. But if your determination be otherwise, hear ours: We will not imitate you in cruelty; we will put no man to death in cold blood. The prisoners which first fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate; but if the life of a single unfortunate Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be delivered to the Irish army are, neither to give nor to take quarter. Countrymen, if a cruel necessity forces us to retaliate, we will bury our resentment in the field of battle; if we fall, we will fall where we fight for our country. Fully impressed with this determination — of the necessity of adhering to which past experience has but too fatally convinced us — fully impressed with the justice of our cause, which we now put to issue, we make our last and solemn appeal to the sword and to heaven; and as the cause of Ireland deserves to prosper, may God give us the victory."

"Conformably to the above proclamation, the Pro-

visional Government of Ireland decree as follows:

"1. From the date and promulgation hereof tithes are for ever abolished, and church-lands are the property of the nation.

"2. From the same date all transfers of landed property are prohibited, each person paying his rent until the national government is established, the national will declared, and the courts of justice be organized.

"3. From the same date all transfer of bonds, debentures, and all public securities, are in like manner forbidden, and declared void for the same time, and for the same reason.

"4. The Irish generals commanding districts shall seize such partizans of England as may serve as hostages, and shall apprize the English commanders opposed to them that a strict retaliation shall take place, if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committed by the troops under command of each, or by the partizans of England in the district which he occupies.

"5. That the Irish generals are to treat (except where retaliation makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hands, or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who shall have acted conformably to the laws of war, as prisoners of war; but all Irish militia, yeomen, or volunteer corps, or bodies of Irish, or individuals who, fourteen days after the promulgation and date hereof, shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated.

"6. The generals are to assemble court-martials, who

are to be sworn to administer justice, who are not to condemn without sufficient evidence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instantly for trial.

"7. No man is to suffer death by their sentence but for mutiny; the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death shall not be put into execution until the Provisional Government declares its will; nor are court-martials on any pretence to sentence, nor is any officer to suffer the punishment of flogging; or any species of torture to be inflicted.

"8. The generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to send offenders immediately to the court-martial, and are enjoined to chase away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves by being drunk in presence of the enemy.

"9. The generals are to apprize their respective armies that all military stores and ammunition belonging to the English government be the property of the captors, and the value equally divided, without respect of rank, between them — except that the widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of those who gloriously fall in the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.

"10. As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property in ships or otherwise is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them forbidden and declared void in like manner as is expressed in Nos. 2 and 3.

"11. The generals of the different districts are hereby empowered to confer rank, up to colonels inclusive, on such as they conceive merit it from the nation, but are not to make more colonels than one for

fifteen hundred men, nor more lieutenant-colonels than one for every thousand men.

"12. The generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom-houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The generals shall pass receipts for the amount, and account to the Provisional Government for the same.

"13. When the people elect their officers, up to the colonels, the general is bound to confirm it; no officer can be broke but by the sentence of a court-martial.

"14. The generals shall correspond with the Provisional Government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.

"15. The general commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the county committee, who shall be elected comformably to the constitution of the United Irishmen. All the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made in writing by the generals to the committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass receipts for each article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.

"16. The county committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county; for which purpose the county committee are to appoint a high-sheriff, and one or more sub-sheriffs, to execute their orders; a sufficient number of justices

of the peace for the county; a high, and a sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by those magistrates.

"17. The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided, conformably to the boundaries for raising militia, into the counties of North and South Cork, for each of which a county constable, high-sheriff, and all magistrates above directed are to be appointed.

"18. The county committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as shall appear on sufficient evidence to have perpetrated murder, torture, and other breaches of the acknowledged articles of war and morality on the people; to the end that they may be tried for these offences as soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.

"19. The county committee shall cause the sheriff, or his officers, to seize on all the personal property of such, to put seals on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of the proprietors.

"20. The county committee shall act in like manner with all state and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.

"21. The county committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the government an exact account of their value, extent, and amount, and receive the directions of the Provisional Government thereon.

"22. They shall appoint some proper house in the counties where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the county committee shall assemble; they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transmitted, arranged, and kept, and the orders of the government to be there transmitted and received.

"23. The county committee is hereby empowered to pay out of these effects, or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriffs, justices, and other magistrates, whom they shall appoint.

"24. They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of government.

"25. The county committee shall correspond with government on all subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the general of the district such information as they shall conceive useful to the public.

"26. The county committee shall take care that all state prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them sufficient support; to the end that all the world may know that the Irish nation is not actuated by a spirit of revenge, but of justice.

"27. The Provisional Government wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin, to whom, the moment they assemble, the Provisional Government will resign its functions; and, without presuming to dictate to the

people, they beg leave to suggest, that for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

"28. The number of representatives being arbitrary, the Provisional Government have adopted that of the late House of Commons, 300; and according to the best returns of the population of the cities and counties, the following number are to be returned from each: Antrim, 13; Armagh, 9; Belfast Town, 1; Carlow, 3; Cavan, 7; Clare, 8; Cork county, north, 14; Cork county, south, 14; Cork city, 6; Donegal, 10; Down, 16; Drogheda, 1; Dublin county, 4; Dublin city, 14; Fermanagh, 5; Galway, 10; Kerry, 9; Kildare, 14; Kilkenny, 7; King's county, 6; Leitrim, 5; Limerick county, 10; Limerick city, 3; Londonderry, 9; Longford, 4; Louth, 4; Mayo, 12; Meath, 9; Monaghan, 9; Queen's county, 6; Roscommon, 8; Sligo, 6; Tipperary, 13; Tyrone, 14; Waterford county, 6; Waterford city, 2; Westmeath, 5; Wicklow, 5.

"29. In the cities, the same regulations as in the counties shall be adopted; the city committees shall appoint one or more sheriffs, as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and corporation properties in their jurisdiction, in like manner as is directed in counties.

"30. The Provisional Government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers, civil and military, and the whole of the nation, to cause the law of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy, by which liberty alone can be established, and the blessings of divine Providence secured."

Another printed document, purporting to be a proclamation, was likewise found in the depot off Thomas-street:[1]

"CITIZENS OF DUBLIN,

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath, and faithful to their engagements as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long oppression of England. In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal co-operation from the country, every part of which, from the north to the south, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause.

"Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented to many a knowledge of our plan, but the erection of the national standard — the sacred, though long degraded green — will be found a sufficient call to arms, and rally round it every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism or sense of duty; avail yourselves of local advantages — in a city each street becomes a defile, and house a battery; impede the march of your oppressors; charge them with the arms of the brave, the pike; and from your windows hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient instruments on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant — the mercenary and sanguinary soldiery of England.

"Orangemen, add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped, to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its ——. Attempt not an opposition which will carry with it your

[1] This proclamation was written by Mr. Long.

inevitable destruction; return from the paths of delusion — return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

"Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert; all sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, are indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our object; repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage, and intoxication: let each man do his duty, and remember that during public agitation inaction becomes a crime. Be no other competition known but that of doing good; remember against whom you fight — your oppressors for six hundred years — remember their massacres, their tortures; remember your murdered friends, your burned houses, your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom you are now giving her high rank among nations, and, in the honest terror of feeling, let us all exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in the which shall be our *last*."

APPENDIX VIII

REPORT IN MANUSCRIPT OF ROBERT EMMET'S SPEECH, SAID TO BE THE ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THAT SPEECH IN ROBERT EMMET'S OWN HANDWRITING

I HAVE to bring to the notice of my readers the existence of a report, in manuscript, of Robert Emmet's speech, said to be the original draft of that speech in Robert Emmet's handwriting, lately in the possession of an officer of the British Museum — Mr. Henry Marshall — and now in mine. In January, 1846, the existence of this document was brought to my knowledge by Mr. Carew O'Dwyer, who had obtained his information of its existence from the late Charles Phillips. I entered into communication, immediately on receipt of this intelligence, with Mr. Marshall, and requested to have the document sent to me for examination, and a statement of any facts relating to its history which he might be in possession of, with a view to the purchase of it if it should appear to me a genuine document.

Mr. Marshall complied with my request, and stated, as I have no doubt, conscientiously, his belief of the genuineness of the document, and the authenticity of the account given him of its history, which was simply this — that the late Viscount Henry Augustus Dillon had obtained it from Counsellor Curran; that Lord Dillon had given it to a lady with whom he had been in-

timately acquainted; and from that lady that he (Mr. Marshall) had obtained it.

On comparing the handwriting of the document with several autographs of Emmet in my possession (notwithstanding a remarkable resemblance), I came to the conclusion that it was not the original draft of the speech, but a report made by some person who had been present at the trial, or who might have had access to the original draft. With this view I desired to get possession of this document, and accordingly I purchased it from Mr. Marshall. Here I shall only refer to two passages in it which are not to be found in Ridgeway's Report.

PASSAGES IN REPORT OF THE SPEECH OF ROBERT EMMET.

[Said to be in his handwriting.]

"I appeal to the immaculate God — I swear by the throne of heaven, before which I must shortly appear — by the blood of the murdered patriots who have been sacrificed from time to time — that an ambassador is at this moment in France, and accredited there as the representative of the people of Ireland; there is now an Irish agent in every port of the French republic inspecting the preparations making for the descent on this country. . . .

"I am charged with being the key-stone of the conspiracy; I only acted a subaltern part. There are men who manage it that are far above me, or even you, my lord, in all your fancied greatness; men who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand. You, my lord, tell me that I am accountable for

the blood which has been and will be shed in this business. I do not fear approaching the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my past life. But, my lord, were it possible to collect all the blood that you have shed into one common reservoir, for great indeed must it be, your lordship might swim therein!"

For four reasons I conclude that this document is not what it purports to be — a genuine draft of the speech of Robert Emmet in his own handwriting.

1. The heading to this document, "Robert Emmett's address to Lord Norbury, previous to his receiving sentence of death," is in the same handwriting as the draft of the speech, but the speaker never wrote his name in the way it appears in the heading, with two t's; he invariably wrote his name with one — thus, Emmet. Various documents in his handwriting, and several signatures of his are in my possession, and therefore I can speak with confidence both as to his handwriting and to his signature; but with respect to the handwriting I freely admit that the writing in the draft of the speech bears a very great resemblance to the handwriting of Robert Emmet in my possession — so great, that if I formed a judgment on that evidence alone, I would be disposed to believe that document is genuine. There are some differences, however, in the capitals, especially between the handwriting of the document and the autographs in my possession.

2. At the conclusion of one of the most solemn passages in the speech — where Emmet is reported in the draft as saying, in reference to the appearance of all men before the great tribunal of God's judgment: "'It will then remain for the great Searcher of all

Hearts to show to the collected universe, who was engaged in the most atrocious actions, or who was actuated by the purest motives,' " — these words follow: " He was again interrupted, and desired to attend to the sentence of the law. The prisoner then, in a very pathetic manner, appealed to the court by saying: 'My lord, shall a dying man be denied,' " &c. It seems to me highly improbable that Robert Emmet ever wrote these words, " The prisoner then, in a very pathetic manner, appealed," &c.; they are wholly out of keeping with the character of Robert Emmet.

3. The document purporting to be the draft of Robert Emmet's speech is thus endorsed: " Written by Robert Emmet's own hand, and given by Counsellor Curran to Henry Augustus Viscount Dillon." This endorsement is in a different handwriting to that of the draft of the speech. If the Counsellor Curran above referred to were John Philpot Curran, we must suppose the latter was in friendly communication with Emmet subsequently to the conviction of the latter, and it is certain that such was not the case; John Philpot Curran was not his counsel, and the terms on which they then were did not admit of any similar communication between them. The Counsellor Curran above referred to might, however, have been the eldest son of John Philpot Curran, who was on terms of most intimate friendship with Robert Emmet to the last day of his life; and on the morning of the last day Robert Emmet wrote a letter to him, which will be found elsewhere; but it is by no means likely that a draft of his speech would have been allowed to have been transmitted with a letter to Richard Curran, and had the

latter received such a document we may be quite sure mention would have been made of it by Mr. W. H. Curran in the life of his father, wherein we find the letter inserted of Robert Emmet to his brother.

4. Henry Augustus Viscount Dillon was born in 1777, succeeded to the title in 1813, and died in 1832. His father was a member of the privy council in 1803, and if the document in question had come into the possession of a member of the Dillon family, it would be more likely to have come into the hand of Viscount Dillon, an ultra-Tory peer, who was a privy councillor in 1803, than into those of the son; inasmuch as every scrap of writing of Robert Emmet, after his conviction, was likely to be submitted to the privy council, and in this way some of its members might have been allowed to retain the document referred to. But it may be presumed that neither J. P. Curran nor his son was likely to have obtained it from a member of the council at that period, and at a subsequent time to have given it to his descendant.

The preceding observations and account of this document were written when a very remarkable letter of the late Thomas Moore to Dr. R. Sheldon MacKenzie in reference to it, published in a New York newspaper by Mr. MacKenzie, was brought to my knowledge in a pirated edition of my Memoirs of Robert and T. A. Emmet, recently published in New York by Mr. Haverty, with the following notice:

"The following letter of Thomas Moore's appeared in a communication of Dr. Shelton MacKenzie's to Meagher's New York 'Irish News,' of June 7th, 1856.

"'May 10, 1845.

"'DEAR SIR — I had the pleasure, some time ago, of expressing my gratitude for your kind and interesting letter respecting the manuscript of poor Emmet's speech in Mr. Marshall's possession. My "History of Ireland," so long on hand as to have made it latterly a heavy duty of task-work rather than the "labour of love" which it originally promised to be, was completed without including any notice of Emmet's attempted revolt in 1803; therefore I did not give myself any special trouble about Mr. Marshall's manuscript. I was in town for a couple of days last July, but in no mood of mind to take especial interest in anything but the mournful duty I had to discharge. This time I have been less occupied, and scarcely lost an hour before I saw Mr. Marshall at the British Museum. Unfortunately the precious manuscript was at his private residence, so I was disappointed for the instant. Yesterday I was more fortunate. The writing is unquestionably Robert Emmet's. Nearly half a century ago, when he and I were warm friends and constant companions, I knew his writing as well as my own. Nor was it without emotion that I looked at one of the very latest of his autographs. You, who are acquainted with my literary efforts, must have gathered from them how much I loved him living, and attempted to honour him when dead; as the peasant, in our native land, who casts a stone upon the cairn of some lamented friend, pays a tribute as great, according to his means, as when the pride of wealth raises a mausoleum over the ashes of the dead.

"'With abundance of materials in the Museum

library, I was able to compare the manuscript with the spoken speech. There are several points of difference, arising chiefly out of the repeated efforts of Lord Norbury to embarrass Emmet by a series of scolding interruptions. In such attempts his lordship did not succeed; for though Emmet did not deliver more than two-thirds of what he had prepared, there was force and eloquence in the sentence which he interpolated, on the instant, in reply and reproof to the judicial scold. Emmet was naturally so eloquent (he was one of the best speakers of our Historical Society in college) that there was no reason, except one, why he should have carefully elaborated the few sentences to be spoken before judgment was passed upon him. It is more than probable that he distrusted his own powers at that trying crisis, and was anxious no doubt that his last words in public, actually addressed (to use Lord Byron's fine expression) "to time and to eternity, and not to man," should be well deliberated. He knew their importance.

"'In the manuscript, as originally struck yourself, the allusion to aid from France is more decided than in the published speech. Emmet certainly intended saying that there was at that moment in Paris a member of the Irish Provisional Government, empowered to negotiate for an invading expedition, but with orders not to allow it to sail until the French government had given Ireland a guarantee for her liberties similar to that obtained by Franklin for America. This is much more than I can find in any report of the speech. Emmet may not have spoken these words, but it is just as probable that he did. The report of the trial was pub-

lished under the editorship of the then under-secretary of the Castle, Mr. Marsden, who is known to have greatly garbled the account.

"'I have always been doubtful whether Robert Emmet, who was fastidious in his language, ever designated Plunket as a viper whom his father had nurtured to sting his child. There is no trace of such words in the manuscript, but indeed they could only have been suggested, if ever uttered, by the line taken by Plunket on the trial — a course of procedure which evidently had but one motive, and upon which there could scarcely be a second opinion.

"'The kindness of Mr. Marshall has given me not only the inspection, but the possession of Emmet's manuscript. I vainly essayed to make him accept some price for it, knowing that his circumstances cannot be good; but he declined so decidedly that I did not venture to insist. I have sent him, as a small acknowledgment, the late edition of my verses, and beg that when you again see him you will say how much I am his debtor.

"'As you are curious, with pertinacity in your curiosity, about Robert Emmet, I have only to add that I shall return to Sloperton in a few days, and should the facilities of railroad travelling tempt you to give me a few days' visit, you may then make a copy of the speech, which I should gladly do for you, but the mere work of writing greatly fatigues me now, and indeed I have taken several days to this letter. Pardon its great length, and believe me

"'Your obliged and faithful servant,

"'Thomas Moore.

"'To Dr. Shelton MacKenzie.'

"It was not in my power to visit Moore in his cottage in Wiltshire, and thus I lost the opportunity of obtaining a copy of the document.

"The original remains most probably among Moore's papers.— R. S. M."

The substance of that letter of Moore I felt it my duty very recently to communicate to Mr. Marshall, and request an explanation of the circumstances — to me incomprehensible — therein stated. That explanation I have received, and now lay before my readers:

LETTER FROM MR. HENRY MARSHALL TO R. R. MADDEN.

"British Museum, 17th November, 1859.

"DEAR SIR — In reply to your letter of the 15th instant, I beg to state that I showed the speech of Robert Emmet to Thomas Moore and Dr. Shelton MacKenzie. The former said that he was at college with Emmet, and knew his handwriting, and expressed his belief that the speech which is now in your possession was in Emmet's own handwriting, and that he would see me again upon the subject. I, however, heard of his death some time after, and never saw him after the interview here alluded to. As I have before said, Dr. Shelton MacKenzie saw and read the speech in my presence, and I believe it was he who recommended me to apply to you concerning it. However, to cut the matter short, the document was never out of my possession from the time it was given to me by Mrs. Mara, who with her daughter always insisted that it was given to her (Mrs. Mara) by a Counsellor Curran, as the handwriting of Robert Emmet, at the time of the trial,

and that whatever has since been published, whether in America or anywhere else (in contradiction to this statement), are entirely fabrications and deliberate misstatements.

"Mrs. Mara has been dead now some years, and was related to the Dillons. Miss Mara, her daughter, became a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, and I have not seen or heard of her for several years; but I did learn that she married and went to reside in France; but I have no means of ascertaining where she is, or I would apply to her for further information on the subject.

"I trust this explanation will be quite satisfactory, and I conclude with stating that the document was never out of the walls of the British Museum, after I became its possessor, until purchased by and delivered into your custody.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

"HENRY MARSHALL."

On this strange subject I have only further to say that in reply to a recent letter of mine to Mrs. Moore, the widow of T. Moore, I was informed by that lady that no such document as I referred to existed among her husband's papers, or had been ever seen by her in his possession.

ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE SPEECH OF ROBERT EMMET.

Said to have been in the possession of the late Viscount Dillon, and to have been obtained by his lordship from Mr. Curran.

"'ROBERT EMMET'S ADDRESS TO LORD NORBURY, PREVIOUS TO HIS RECEIVING SENTENCE OF DEATH.

"'As to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law, I have nothing to say; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court; I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, until it shall find some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only death after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but the sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, but those of prejudice also. Though the man dies, his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port — when my shade shall join the shades of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field in the defence of their country, I will look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government that upholds itself by the cries of the orphan and the tears of the widow.'

"He was stopped by Lord N., who told him that the means of the wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did were

inadequate to the accomplishment of such wild designs.

"'I appeal to the immaculate God — I swear by the throne of heaven, before which I must shortly appear — by the blood of the murdered patriots who have been sacrificed from time to time — that an ambassador is at this moment in France, and accredited there as the representative of the people of Ireland — there is now an Irish agent in every port of the French republic inspecting the preparations making for the descent on this country. Think not, my lord, that I say this for the paltry gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness. A man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie will not hazard his character with posterity by advancing a falsehood on a subject so important to his country. Yes, my lord — a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is righted, will not leave such a weapon within the reach of envy to impeach that probity which he means to preserve him in the grave.'

"He was again interrupted.

"'Again I say that what I have spoken is not intended for your lordship — it is meant as a compensation to my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present let my last words cheer him in these hours of his affliction.'

"Again interrupted by Lord N., who told him he did not preside in that court to hear high treason.

"'I have ever understood it to be the duty of a judge, when the prisoner was convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that a judge sometimes thought it his duty to hear with patience and speak with humanity — to deliver an ex-

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hortation to the prisoner, and pass his opinion as to the motives which might actuate him in committing the crime of which he had been found guilty. That a judge has sometimes thought it his duty to do so I have no doubt. Where, then, is the boasted freedom of your laws — where the boasted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice — if an unfortunate prisoner, just about to be delivered into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to vindicate his principles and explain the motives by which he was actuated. You, my lord, are a judge; I am the supposed culprit. You are a man — I am a man also; and if, standing at the bar of this court, I dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it. I have a right to vindicate my character and motives from the aspersion of calumny, and, as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of it in rescuing my name and memory from the foul and odious imputation thrown upon them. And as men we must appear on the great day — it will then remain for the great Searcher of all hearts to show to the collective universe, who was engaged in the most atrocious actions — or who was actuated by the purest motives.'

"He was again interrupted, and desired to attend to the sentence of the law. The prisoner then in a very pathetic manner appealed to the court by saying:

"'My lord, shall a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community of an undeserved reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition and attempting to sell his country to France. O my country! had it been ambition that influenced me, I should

now rank among the proudest of your oppressors. Sell my country to France! O God! No, my lord — no connection with France was intended further than as mutual interest was concerned. Were Frenchmen to assume any authority inconsistent with the present independence, that would be the signal for their destruction. I would fight them with the sword in one hand and the torch in the other. I would burn every blade of grass in the land sooner than allow any foreigner to tyrannize. If the spirit of the illustrious dead can witness the scenes of this transitory life, dear shade of my father! look down with complacency on your suffering son, who never for a moment deviated from those patriotic principles you taught him — in the defence of which he is now willing to die.

"'I am charged with being the key-stone of the conspiracy. I only acted a subaltern part. There are men who manage it that are far above me, or even you, my lord, in all your fancied greatness — men who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand. You, my lord, tell me that I am accountable for the blood which has been and will be shed in this business. I do not fear approaching the omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my past life. But, my lord, were it possible to collect all the blood that you have shed into one common reservoir — for great indeed must it be — your lordship might swim therein.'

"Again interrupted.

"'My lords, I have but a few words more to say. I am now going to my cold and silent grave. My lamp of life is nearly extinguished. My race is finished —

the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to make at my departure from this world — it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not ignorance or prejudice asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed till other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place amongst the nations of the earth — then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I am done.'"

APPENDIX IX

THE SPY SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED BY EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE OF EDWARD JOHN NEWELL, THE INFORMER

OF all the wretches of that band of informers, who rioted on the wages of iniquity in those frightful times, the worst, the most thoroughly debased, the vilest of the vile, was Edward John Newell, a native of Downpatrick, a portrait painter by profession. Treachery seemed to be the ruling passion of this man's life. To every friend or party he connected himself with he was false. He betrayed the secrets of the United Irish Society, professedly to prevent the murder of an exciseman named Murdoch. He ingratiated himself into the confidence of Murdoch, and then robbed him of the affections of his wife. He became one of the regular corps of ruffians called the Battalion of Testimony, who had apartments provided for them at the Castle, within the precincts of that place which was the residence of the viceroy and the centre of the official business of the government. Having sold his former associates to the government, and by his own account having been the cause of two hundred and twenty-seven arrests, and the occasion of the flight of upwards of three hundred persons from their habitations, and many of them from their country, in consequence of the informations he had laid against them, he next betrayed the government,

published their secrets, and fled from the service of Mr. Cooke to that of the northern United Irishmen. Some of the latter — amongst others James Hope — were employed to go to Dublin to make overtures to him on the eve of the trials of Messrs. Barrett, Burnside, and other northern prisoners, and at the same time to put Murdoch in possession of certain letters of his wife, known to exist, which had been discovered in a chest of Newell's, left by the latter in Belfast. My informant, James Hope, delivered these letters into the hands of Murdoch. The result is alluded to in Newell's narrative, but not the cause of the *denouement*, which ended in Murdoch's being lodged in jail. About this time, the self-importance of the miscreant Newell knew no bounds: he was on terms of familiar official intercourse with the Chief Secretary and Crown Solicitor; he corresponded with general officers, and had power to command their coöperation when and how he thought fit to make his requisition for it. He swaggered about the Castle Yard with all the consequence of a distinguished government official. He disregarded the ordinary rules and regulations of the major's department in the Castle. At length he carried his audacity to the point of taking a pistol from his pocket, and deliberately firing at a sentinel on duty at the Lower Castle Gate, who impeded his entrance at an hour when it was forbidden to allow persons to pass. He was in the act of discharging a second pistol at the sentinel, when he was overpowered and conveyed to the guard-house. In the morning Mr. Newell was released, when it was discovered who he was. He was then sent for to the Castle, and instead of being forthwith committed to

Newgate for this capital offence, he was reprimanded by Mr. Secretary Cooke. This statement is not dependent on the authority of Newell. The newspapers of the day make mention of the occurrence, as well as of that of Mr. Murdoch's previous attempt on the life of Newell.

A meeting was at length concerted between Newell and one of the United Irishmen, named Robert Orr, a chandler, of Belfast, at a place of accommodation and entertainment for informers, called the "Stag-house," nearly in front of Kilmainham jail. The result was Newell's departure from Dublin, in the company of Orr, for Belfast. For some time he was concealed in that town, in a house near the artillery barracks. He was from thence conveyed to the house of one of the United Irishmen at Doagh, a few miles from Belfast.

It was while he was in concealment in the latter place he wrote the narrative of his life, which bears his name, and it was privately printed by John Story, a printer in Belfast, though on the title-page it purports to have been printed in London.

The narrative is unquestionably the production of Edward John Newell. Of the fate of the unfortunate wretch who wrote it there is some doubt, but a great deal of reason to fear that he was barbarously murdered by the persons into whose hands he had fallen after his removal from Belfast. James Hope, who had delivered the letters to Murdoch, which were the occasion of the rupture between him and Newell, had no knowledge of his movements from the time he had been taken from Belfast, for the purpose of being in the immediate vicinity of the Lough, where facilities ex-

isted for embarkation, when the opportunity should occur of carrying the intention into effect of putting him on board a vessel for America.

Murdoch's wife, in the meantime, had been prevailed on by Newell to accompany him to America, had quitted her husband's house, and taken up her abode in a neighbouring one to that in which Newell was then living. He quarrelled with the unfortunate woman he had inveigled from her husband's house, and no sooner was he informed that a vessel was in readiness to sail for America, and the time was appointed for his departure, than he wrote to Murdoch to acquaint him where his wife then was, and of her readiness to return to him; but whether this letter was written with her sanction, or with the knowledge of the persons who kept him in concealment, it is impossible to say, for it is difficult to conceive the extent or the design of such complicated villainy.

One thing is certain, that Newell, by some proceeding or other of his, gave his custodians an idea that he was only biding his time to return to his old pursuits and perfidy; that he was informed a vessel was in the Lough bound for America; that he was prevailed on to embark on board a small boat, or at least to accompany two pretended friends to the beach for the purpose of embarking, and that he never more was heard of.

The man whose name is coupled with the chief part of the infamy of this alleged transaction, went to America and died there.

M'Skimmin, the historian of Carrickfergus, informed me that he had no doubt of the assassination of Newell, nor of the authenticity of the narrative which bears

his name. On the subject, however, of assassinations ascribed to United Irishmen, M'Skimmin has taken up ideas which have no existence except in the brains of persons like himself, who have suffered at the hands of the United Irishmen, or apprehended injury from them. He states that the murder of Newell was not an isolated act of one or two individuals of the friends of those whose lives were depending on his appearance at the ensuing trials or his absence from them, but a part of an organized system of murder, duly managed by a committee of assassination, of which the northern one was a branch; that the Dublin leaders were the originators of this system; and that the assassination journal, called the "Union Star," which he (M'Skimmin) insists was printed in Belfast, was the organ of the northern committee.

This idea had evidently taken such possession of the mind of M'Skimmin, that all attempts on my part to remove the impression were in vain. It was of no avail that he was informed of the "Union Star" having been got up, printed, and disseminated in Dublin; of O'Connor, Emmet, and Macneven, having repudiated and denounced its atrocious principles; of such denunciations having been found in Emmet's house, when searched by the authorities, and having fallen into the hands of government; of assassination being repudiated by every leading member of the society; and of the charge originally brought forward by Lord Clare, of the existence of a committee of assassination, being utterly unfounded. I have taken no common pains to inquire into this subject, and the result of my research is a conviction that there exists no ground for the alle-

gation, and I can truly affirm, if a single fact had come to my knowledge affording authentic information on which a contrary opinion could be formed, it should not have been suppressed by me.

In the year 1797, a friend of M'Skimmin, an old pensioner of the name of Lee, known as an informer, swore against J. Cuthbert of Belfast, and some others, who were tried at Carrickfergus. Previously to the trial, an attempt was made to murder Lee, and M'Skimmin's connection with a man of some notoriety as an informer, caused him to be suspected by the people, or M'Skimmin to imagine that he was suspected, and that it was the intention of the United Irishmen to make away with him. He took refuge in the Castle of Carrickfergus, and did duty with the old pensioners who were stationed there for several months. The apprehension which caused him to take refuge in that place had made a deep impression on his mind; it became, in short, a fixed idea, and the delusion led him to collect a mass of information, a very large portion of which consists of fabrications, which were palmed on him for facts; and provided they were injurious to the character of the United Irishmen, they were eagerly received by him. With these observations I have to preface a statement respecting Newell's disappearance, and the several assassinations committed by persons supposed to be United Irishmen, drawn up for me by M'Skimmin.

"About June, 1798, Newell's friends wished him to leave the country and go out to America, offering him ample means. This, however, he refused, unless Mrs. Murdoch would consent to go with him. During this negotiation he remained mostly at M'Questen's, at Don-

egore, which he left one evening in company with two professed friends, and he was never afterwards seen. He had become again suspected by the United Irishmen of being about to give them the slip, and he was therefore consigned to "Moiley," then a cant term for assassination. The account says he was thrown overboard from a boat in Garnogle; another, that he was shot on the road near Roughfort.[1]

"Though the pistol or dagger was the common mode of disposing of those charged with being informers, others were also resorted to. We have heard of one who was thrown into a burning lime-kiln; and near Belfast

[1] The following account of Newell was given to me by Dr. M'Gee, of Belfast (a United Irishman), a short time before his death:—

"In the winter of 1797, four United Irishmen were to be tried at Dublin—Barrett, Burnside, Dan Shanaghan, and Henry Joy M'Cracken. The witnesses against them were Smith *alias* Bird, the other, Newell. Bird declined to come forward, and the only apprehension then was for Newell's appearance. Certain persons were sent up from Belfast, to endeavour to buy off Newell. Robert Orr and another person met Newell at Kilmainham on a Sunday morning, at a public-house called 'The Stag-House.' Newell had sent a messenger to some of the prisoners' friends, that he wished to meet them. He said to Orr and his friend he was sorry for what he had done; he wished to make amends and get back to Belfast, provided he could get a certain person to accompany him to America. There was no money given to him. It was understood that he was to be sent off at the expense of the United Irishmen."

Mr. Gunning, another of the actors in the struggle of 1798, who recently died, informed me a few weeks before his death, that a Mr. White, of Ballyholme (about ten miles from Belfast), about fifteen years ago, had found there, on the beach, partly uncovered, some human bones; and from all the circumstances connected with the discovery, he believed them to be the bones of Newell, who was said to have been drowned there.—R. R. M.

a house is pointed out where the victims were decoyed in to be murdered. On entering its hall a trap-door opened, and the victim fell into a cellar, where he was despatched by a man who stood ready with a hatchet to receive him. About twenty-five years ago, in making a ditch near this house, a human skeleton was found, that had evidently been interred in the common clothes worn during life, some portion of them lying with the bones."

When any of these murders became known, it was said "Moiley" had him, or that "Moiley" had eaten him.

"1796. January 5th.— The body of a stranger, said to have been an informer, of the surname of Phillips, was found in a dam near the paper-mills, Belfast.

"August 3rd, same year.— A soldier of the Limerick militia, then quartered in Belfast, was found drowned at the Strand mills near that town. He was reported to have been an informer; and it was said he had been cast into the river by his comrades on the previous night. About the same time the body of a soldier, believed to have been murdered, was cast on shore near Hollywood.

"1796.— On the 19th of August, a man named John Lee was fired at, and severely wounded in the shoulder, at Dumbridge; for which some persons were sworn against by Lee, but were acquitted.

1796.— On the night of the 8th of October, the Rev. Philip Johnston, a magistrate, was fired at and severely wounded, while mounting his horse between two dragoons, in Castle Street, Lisburn. About seven o'clock of the evening of the 19th of the same month, a

man named William M'Bride, who had lately arrived from Glasgow, was shot dead, near the head of North Street, Belfast. He was also reported to have been an informer, though it is certain he was not an United Irishman. A few evenings after, his murderer also shot a man near the county of Down end of the Long Bridge, who was immediately tossed into the river.

"1796. October 29th.— The Rev. John Cleland was fired at while passing along the streets of Newtownards; and on the 31st of the same month, a man named Stephenson, servant to a Mr. Gurdy, near Newtownards, was murdered at his master's door: before he died he deposed that one John Lavery, of Derryanghy, was one of his murderers. About the same time a butcher, named John Kingsbury, Belfast, was murdered near the Drumbridge: he was a professed Orangeman: some words uttered by him against United Irishmen, are said to have led to his murder.

"1797.— Mr. Cumming, one of the Newtownards cavalry, was murdered in his own house, and his arms carried off. In April, an informer named M'Clure was killed, near Ballynare; and May 6th, a man was shot, charged with being an informer, near Dunnedery; he was not an informer. A man named M'Dowell, near Dromore, was shot at his own house, charged with a like offence; and an informer named Morgan was shot in the vicinity of Downpatrick, by persons who came on horseback from Ballynahinch. About December, Neil M'Kimmon, a soldier, Argyle Fencibles, was murdered between Lisburn and Blaris camp.

"The house of one M'Clusky, county of Derry, was burned, and himself murdered; and in December, a man

was murdered near Magilligan, because he had said he had seen men exercising at night; and about the same time they destroyed the property, and cut the ears off one Lenagan, in the same county. Richard Harper, an informer belonging to Saintfield, was killed on his way to Belfast. The place where he was murdered is since called Harper's Bridge."

So much for M'Skimmin's statement. Of that part of it which details murders and attempts to murder, with all its fabrications and exaggerations, some of the statements are in accordance with the accounts I have myself received of the same atrocities; but the inference he draws from them of the existence of an organized system of assassination, is wholly erroneous.[1]

There is no evidence that the persons who committed those murders were United Irishmen; but there can be little doubt but that in many instances the perpetrators, or instigators, of the latter were friends of United Irishmen who had been sworn against, or whose lives were endangered by the persons they had made away with.

[1] Samuel M'Skimmin, the historian of Carrickfergus, was born in the town he chronicled the events of, in 1775; he died the 17th February, 1843. I visited him not many months before his death. He lived in a small cottage in a back street in Carrickfergus, in which he kept a kind of huxter's shop, sold candles, groceries, and small provisions to the poor of his locality. A small room behind his shop served for bed-room, parlour, and library. The latter consisted of very few volumes,—three or four dozen probably; yet, in this humble position, and with very poor appliances to literary pursuits, M'Skimmin laboured, and not unsuccessfully. He communicated articles to the "Gentleman's Magazine"—among his papers, one on "Extinct birds," another on the "Round Towers." In "Frazer's Magazine," an article on the Insurrection of 1803, wherein he gave full scope to his rabid Orange feelings of bitter hatred to the leaders and others of 1798.

But if the value of life was not duly estimated by the people, by whom was the example set of making death in all its ghastly forms — on the scaffold, in the fields, or at the lamp-posts in the streets — familiar to their minds? In troubled times like those of '97 and '98, the evil-disposed are ever ready to take advantage of the general disorder to carry their malignant designs into effect, whether actuated by feelings of private animosity or impelled by the desire of plunder; and every deed of violence which then takes place is set down to the account of those who are proscribed as rebels and enemies to the king's peace.

The following information, in connection with this subject, was given to me by a man whose honesty and truthfulness had a sort of proverbial currency in Belfast; by the late Israel Milliken, a man not unacquainted with "the troubles" of that time, nor a mere spectator in that struggle. Milliken's statement gives an insight into the crimes which men were driven to in those times; men meeting perjury with perjury, and attempts on life in the arrangements of the panel and the drilling of the witnesses, with the taking away of life by other modes of assassination and procedures equally murderous.

"Joseph Cuthbert and John Boyce, and four other prisoners, in 1797, confined in Carrickfergus jail, were put on their trial. The witness against them was one Lee, a pensioner, and also a peddler, who had lodged the original information against this man before the trial came on, and who was drowned at Dunnedery Bridge three miles from Antrim. Lee was then brought forward as a substitute for the peddler, to swear against

them; and prior to the trial an attempt was also made on the life of Lee, who swore that Cuthbert and some others had fired at him. Lee had been set on by a Captain M'Nevin. The attorney for the prisoners was James M'Gucken. It was determined to get two *alibis*, to prove that the prisoners were of a mason's lodge, and had been in it all that evening on which the murder was said to have taken place. Those two witnesses were sent to confer with M'Gucken before the trial, and on leaving him, one of them said it was evident that he (M'Gucken) was giving them advice that would cause them to break down. They, however, and all the prisoners' friends, thought that M'Gucken did this from stupidity, and not from dishonesty.[1] The two witnesses were one John Sayers, a farmer, the other was William M'Coe, a publican. Some years after, Sayers became dispirited, and repented of what he had done; he came to Israel Milliken, and told him he had no

[1] This statement, relative to M'Gucken's suspected treachery to his clients so early as 1797, is deserving of notice. Mr. M'Gucken, who was a Roman Catholic, not long before his death gave himself the trouble of persuading a worthy clergyman of my acquaintance that he only gave up the cause of the United Irishmen (he did not say, his unfortunate clients to the government and the gallows), after he had witnessed at Maidstone, on the trial of Arthur O'Connor and the priest Quigley, how the latter had been sacrificed by O'Connor and his friends on that occasion. In his virtuous indignation, this Belfast attorney, who was engaged by the prisoners, and who attended at Maidstone for their defence, according to his own account, informed the government of the secrets of their society. The plea for his infamy was worthy of this base man, who delivered over his clients to the hangman for money, and bagged no small share of it in his infamous professional career from 1797 to 1803 and 1804.

peace or comfort; that he had consulted several clergymen, but they gave no ease of mind. A person present, a friend of Israel's, recommended the man to take comfort, and inasmuch as he had not born false witness against his neighbour, but for his neighbour, instead of causing the death, he had saved the lives, of six men. These witnesses, on their examination, gave so circumstantial an account of the masonic toasts, songs, and proceedings, which they described on this occasion, that the witnesses quite carried the judge with them, and the prisoners were acquitted."

James Hope, on the subject of the assassinations ascribed to the United Irishmen, informs me, that at the society established at Craigarogan, they came to a resolution to the following effect: "That any man who recommended or practised assassination of any person whomsoever, or however hostile to the society, should be expelled."

At a baronial committee, held at Ballyclare, near Carrickfergus, James Hope and Joseph Williamson proposed the resolution above named: it was seconded by William Orr (who was executed at Carrickfergus), who said on that occasion, "a man who would recommend the killing of another was a coward as well as a murderer." The resolution, however, was opposed by some of the Belfast men, and it did not pass at that meeting. But no society or committee gave a sanction to the practice of assassination. The only persons Hope knew to have been assassinated, were M'Bride, an informer of Donegore, shot in North Street, Belfast, at Saw's Entry, in 1797; M'Clure, of Craigbally, sup-

posed to be made away with in 1796, who suddenly disappeared, and was never more heard of; Harper, of the county Down, suspected to be an informer, shot at a bridge near Ballygowan, about three miles from Belfast; Newell, from Dublin, an informer, who was traced as far as Doagh, about ten miles from Belfast; Phillips, an excommunicated priest, from French Park, county Roscommon, who had sworn in a number of Defenders, had received a shilling a-head from them, and subsequently had given information to Colonel King and Lord Dillon, and had several of the men thus sworn arrested. He then came to Belfast, but his character came before him; he was taken by a party of Defenders, about 1794; one of them, it was said, confessed he was present when they seized Phillips, tried him on the spot, and condemned him. They gave him time to pray, then put leaden weights into his pockets, and drowned him at the paper-mill stream, close to the town. Henry Caghally, of county Derry, suspected of being an informer (but no proof of the fact); he got money to take him to America, but spent the money, and remained at home; he was then seized, brought to Templepatrick by a party, who gave him drink, and then stabbed him in the breast and killed him. This was two miles from Templepatrick, on the Antrim road. Hope knows of no other instances of assassination ascribed, with any probability of truth, to the United Irishmen.

I now proceed to lay before my readers the extracts from the narrative of Newell, above referred to. The omissions are confined to matter which is either unimportant or irrelevant to the subject of this paper.

12

EXTRACTS FROM THE NARRATIVE ENTITLED THE APOSTACY OF NEWELL; CONTAINING THE LIFE AND CONFESSIONS OF THAT CELEBRATED INFORMER; HIS REASONS FOR BECOMING, AND SO LONG CONTINUING ONE, ETC. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. LONDON: PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR. 1798.

Dedication. To the Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor, etc., etc., in memory of his humane heart, refined feelings, and benevolent mind, as a testimony of gratitude for his paternal counsels, which I have so long adhered to, these Memoirs are respectfully inscribed by the Author.

Of my father and mother, I shall not say more than that they are both descended from Scotch families, who had fled from that country at the rebellion. I was the first fruit of their union, being born in Downpatrick on the 29th of June, 1771; from my earliest infancy I showed a propensity to mischief, and during my juvenile years practised every species of it.

I was greatly addicted to private spouting, one of the most dangerous propensities a young man could have, on account of the company he must mix with; and also to drawing, in both of which I greatly indulged myself. . . .

When I was about seventeen, my father having gone to the north, as was usually his custom once a year, to settle his affairs, he was one night thrown from his horse and dangerously hurted; my mother immediately went to him, leaving the care of the house to me. As the news I heard constantly of my father was far from satisfactory, and rendered me uneasy, for I really then most tenderly loved him, and on account of his being

on the point of death, rendered me so completely miserable, that I went to see him. Arriving at my uncle's, where my father then was, my mother was greatly surprised at seeing me, but was far from receiving me as a parent; and indeed I had never received from her any of that affection which mothers should have for their children.

On my arrival in Dublin, I gave myself up solely to the enjoyments of my companions, two of them in particular, whom I informed I had determined to leave my father's house, but had not as yet formed any plan to proceed upon.

After a few days I thought it prudent to depart, as my father was hourly expected; I therefore went to take a passage for England; but on Rogerson's Quay I met Captain Johnson enlisting seamen to go to Spain.

We sailed for Cadiz; and on the thirteenth night at sea, being very dark, there arose a most dreadful storm: then did I first witness the dangers of the sea.

On our voyage home we experienced the greatest hardship, having lain to for six weeks in the Bay of Biscay, where we lost our maintop mast and foretop sail yards, living on raw meat, lying in wet clothes, and constantly working at our pumps, during which time we thought our fate inevitable.

After my return to Dublin, my father, commiserating my sufferings at sea, wished me to settle, and bound me to the painting and glazing business, which I reluctantly followed for a year, until my usual licentiousness occasioned a difference with my master. Leaving this business and engaging in the glass-staining, which I

practised agreeably about two years, but the like misconduct occasioned a separation from my employer and a total separation from my father.

Spouting in private theatres, and all its concomitant extravagancies, was my constant delight; by such means, and a connection with a young woman, I was reduced to the necessity of leaving Dublin with her, and went to Limerick, in order to proceed to Baltimore in America, to which place I had several letters of credit. We took our passage, and got on board an American ship lying in the Shannon; a king's cutter came alongside to impress the passengers, who for a time made resistance, but being ordered to desist by the commander of the vessel, the gang got on board, pressed near fifty men, and, enraged at the opposition they had met with, treated the crew and passengers with the utmost cruelty, destroying their provisions, insulting every person, and driving their cutlasses through beds and boxes, under a pretence of search for men. In the course of this affray, an American gentleman of respectability received such treatment from this banditti, that he died in a few hours.

During several weeks we were obliged to stay on shore for safety, and when we had sailed, we had not got many leagues to sea, until we were again attacked by a king's ship, and after several shots being fired, obliged us to return to Tarbert, where we were kept prisoners. I here procured an order from Dublin for my liberation, as I could not be let go to America without swearing that I was not an artist. This ship and crew were some weeks after lost on the banks of Newfoundland.

In Limerick I again attempted business, but was again unsuccessful, and therefore returned to Dublin, where, sometimes employed and sometimes idle, I spent my time, until sickness drove me to the utmost poverty and distress, and, had I not been assisted by two friends of liberty, absolute misery must have been my lot. My parents, to whom I applied, refused the smallest assistance, on account of my being a Defender.

I had long been a Defender, and some time an United Irishman, in the last of which principles I have been always an enthusiast.

While a Defender in this city, I suffered the greatest distress that poverty and sickness could inflict; yet such was the confidence reposed in me by the people, that at a time when my situation might have warranted suspicion, they fully confided in me, nor have they ever had reason to repent of it.

I went to Belfast; after being some time there I became an United Irishman. I was, partly on account of my activity and former sufferings, admitted much sooner into confidence than would otherwise have been the case, and higher than strangers are generally entrusted. During a space of thirteen months I regularly attached myself to the cause, in which I placed my greatest happiness; I gloried in, I revered the cause of liberty; my heart beat but to its sound; its friends were my friends, and its enemies my enemies; I neglected my trade; it was alone my study, my business, and my pleasure.

My over warmth, my too great love of the cause, were construed into a plan to deceive, and I was looked upon as an agent of administration; my most anxious endeavours to promote were looked upon as schemes

to destroy union, and I at last fell a prey to ill-judged suspicion.

In Belfast I followed the business of a portrait and miniature painter, a business I had never dared to try before, and in which I had never received the least instruction. Necessity, however, conquered fear, and the kindness of my friends crowned my attempt of support with success.

In the course of my business, I became acquainted with a Mr. Murdoch, a hearth-money collector, to whose house I went to do some pictures: during the time I was treated with the utmost kindness and attention. I thought myself esteemed by the family, and they were really so by me. So great was my affection for them, that I forgot our difference of political opinion, and risked for them my conscience, my honour, and my oath.

Some friends of mine, who knew his character, who knew the secret villainy of his heart, laid a plan to rid the world of such a miscreant, and supply themselves with the arms with which his habitation abounded. I was admitted and sworn one of this association, and though sworn, yet such was my respect and attachment to the family (for then I knew them not), that I apprised them of their danger, and recommended guards for the house. In return, he rewarded me by informing all he knew of my being a rebel, as he called it, and an assassin.

Here, then, the people thought themselves justifiable in their suspicion: they thought, and they thought rightly, that such a rascal should not be left alive. I had papers in my possession of some value: at the appointed time I appeared not, as I should have done, to

deliver up my trust, "because I was detained by illness" — fresh proof of perfidy in their eyes. Yet, I assure you, my countrymen, if my assurance will avail, except that one act of serving the Murdoch family, I never had broken my oath, or in the least departed from that duty incumbent on me as a man of integrity.

I apprehended my life was in danger: conscious of the innocence of my intentions, and exasperated at their suspicions of me, I returned to Murdoch's house. Ill-fated return! the cause of all my woes!

There these blood-thirsty cannibals — these fiends — took care to blow the spark of resentment which glowed within my breast until it became a blaze, and when once fully heated — when once raised to desperation and revenge by their insinuations — they took care I should have no time to return to reason until they hurried me to the throne of despotism, to the chamber of seduction, to that arch-betrayer of every honest heart — the insinuating Cooke.

When I arrived in Dublin, where Bob Murdoch accompanied me, we having been provided with money and horses by Robert Kingsmill, Esq., the ——— commandant of the Castlereagh Cavalry, who is an honest Orangeman, and to whom I gave information of the societies, which were afterwards taken at Alexander's, I was conducted to Mr. Cooke by that ——— Col R.———. There I met with all that sweetness of reception, that cringing servility and fulsome flattery, such sycophants ever use to those whom they wish to seduce to their own ends.

To open the soul, to give the tongue an unrestrained command, the wine was freely circulated. The secre-

tary set his pens and papers ready for the work; but I, not choosing to trust much to such people, who, when they have got you in their power, think it the greatest and most fashionable way to forget their promises and plighted honour when the service is over, refused to tell anything until I had received a pardon for the crimes I had committed.

Mr. Cooke — Will you not trust to my honour?

Newell — Not in this case.

C.— I assure you, you may rely on me.

N.— I don't doubt it; but you'll pardon me: where the life is affected, I rely on no man.

C.— Making out a pardon will take up some days; the people of the north will hear you are here, and they will counteract our schemes, and perhaps get off.

N.— That, sir, is not my fault; this is my determination. There is no harm done; I can return again.

C.— Would not a written pardon from the Lord Lieutenant satisfy you till we can get one made out? I assure you it is of equal power. You know, my dear Mr. Newell, the state of the county. You know there is no time to be lost, and that government for their own sake would not desert you; if they did, could they expect others to come forward like you?

N.— Sir, confident of the propriety of what you say, a written pardon shall satisfy me for the present.

Mr. Cooke then wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, and in a few minutes presented me with a paper, of which this is a copy: —

"Dublin Castle, April 18, 1797.

"Sir,— I desire you will inform Edward John Newell that I hereby pardon him whatever offences he may have

committed against his allegiance and against his majesty's peace and crown.

"I am, Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

"CAMDEN.

"E. Cooke, Esq."

This night he did not form examinations, but asked me several questions. I informed him of the most of what I could; mentioned the men I thought dangerous, etc.; of all which he made notes. I was then permitted to depart. I waited on him early in the morning. Bob Murdoch was sent away, fearing he could not be trusted; but he knew him not; for there is no crime whatsoever but this villain would join in for his own interest. During nine hours I sat with Cooke; he drew out my examinations, the theory of which was mostly true, but which his inventive genius highly embellished. . . .

Mr. Cooke, I call upon you, is this not true? Did you not make me enter in my list men with whose very names I was unacquainted? O guardian worthy of our constitution! Did you not make me arrest the friend of the poor, the comforter of the afflicted, and a man of respectability, Dr. Crawford, of Lisburn, only because in our discourse I mentioned having once dined in his company? In like manner, the Rev. S. Kelburne, for once speaking to me on the street, because you still thought his blunderbuss levelled at your head?

Was I not obliged, to please you, to form a murder, to which I was to appear accessory, because you would not be content without it? You knew, you said, I belonged to an assassination committee. You were

sure, from my character, that I was privy to murder.

I told you of one, for which you well knew examinations were lodged six months before by one really present. Could then a man be murdered twice?

Did you not, Mr. Cooke, see the falsehood, the impossibility of people trusting such a business to a fortnight's knowledge? Did you not paint to me the improbability of the accusation? Did you not bid me swear, absolutely swear, the time was longer? — told me so short a time would prejudice a jury against it; and though you felt convicted, though you knew I lied, yet, such was your thirst of blood, you drew up the following as a separate examination, fearful the people should profit by the improbability, and that government should lose its victims: —

"Ireland, to wit. } The examination of Edward John Newell, of the city of Dublin, miniature painter, who, being duly examined and sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith, that about the month of June last, to the best of his recollection, intelligence was received, as he understood, from the camp of Blaris Warren, by the societies of United Irishmen at Belfast, that a militia man of the city of Limerick regiment was sent to Belfast for no other purpose than to find out what he could with regard to the United Irishmen, and give information against them, and therefore he was to be taken care of. That Robert Neilson, painter, of Belfast, was spending the day with deponent at Patrick's Linn's, publican; that Neilson wanted to go away in the evening, and when deponent pressed him to stay, he said he must go on serious business;

and he then swore deponent to secrecy on a Bible or Testament, and told him it was to kill a militia man who was a spy. Deponent then offered to go with him, and they went to the house of John Young, when he introduced him into a room where Corporal Burke and the said militia man, Thomas Dry, *alias* Jackson, John Gordon, Robert Neilson, James Burnsides were present, when they drank till nine, at which time they were joined by Alexander Gordon. On his entrance into the room, Burke asked him was he ready; Gordon replied that it was too soon. That they then sat and drank, and the militia man began to let out his secrets, which confirmed them in their suspicions. That after leaving the house, when it was late, they were joined by John Young, the keeper of the house. They went then to take a walk down the Mall, with an intention, as they professed, of having some fun; that they were very agreeable together till they came to a bridge near the paper mill, at which time one of the company wanted to sneak off, when Corporal Burke pulled out a pistol, and swore he would blow it through the brains of the first cowardly rascal who dared to stir. The militia man then seemed to be alarmed, and wanted to return, when Young struck him, and d——d him to go on. Dry was then standing on the bridge, and he left them, as deponent believes, to get the weight ready to put in the militia man's pockets. Burke then seized the soldier and dragged him up to the bridge, and struck him two or three times. Burke then gave deponent the pistol; he turned about, and at that moment Burke threw him over, and cried out, it is done, by ——; they all then went home. The next day deponent saw

Burke and drank with him, and deponent and Burke asked whether that job was not prettily done. Deponent says that Alexander Gordon was afterwards on the coroner's inquest, and when deponent asked how he could stand seeing him, Gordon replied it was because he was fond of fishing, or to that purpose, and further deponent says not.

"Sworn before me the 14th April, 1797.

"CLONMEL.

"Edward John Newell."

Look, Sir, at my two examinations: see if, by the dates, I did not swear I executed that business, before I was even an United Irishman! See then if you can justify the confinement of those worthy men in prison.

When he had formed the examinations so as to answer his own intentions, and had received the opinion of the attorney-general on their utility, Lord Clonmel was sent for, in whose dignified presence the following were sworn, though I solemnly declare not the one-fourth part of them were my words or sentiments.

"Ireland, to wit. } The examination of Edward John Newell, of the city of Dublin, miniature painter, who, being duly examined and sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, deposeth that, about a year ago, he went down to Belfast to follow his business; that, about a fortnight after he was there, he was introduced by James Malone, a notorious Defender, of the county of Leitrim, as deponent believes, and who now lives at Killead, near Belfast, and Barney Close, who has run away for debt, to John Gordon, clerk to Mr. John

M'Cracken, muslin manufacturer, at the house of Margaret Magee, publican, in Mill Street, Belfast, who swore him upon a Bible to be an United Irishman; and the oath that he took was the oath of the United Irishmen, as set forth in their printed book of constitutions; and the said Gordon instructed him in the signs of the United Irishmen; Malone and Close and another man were present; the said Gordon then ordered him to attend a meeting of United Irishmen the Sunday fortnight afterwards, which he did with Malone and Close. The meeting was very full; Gordon read the constitution, and deponent again took the oath from Miller, a printer, to whom he paid six pence; also Rice, Quinn, and a great many others were present, all of whom heard him take the oath, and seemed to understand what he said, they all having, as deponent believes, taken the oath of an United Irishman. At this house the room was so full (which is the house of Flanagan, a publican, on the Quay) and so hot, that deponent was forced soon to go away. The Sunday following deponent was at another meeting, at the house of Crozier, a publican, at Belfast, where the numbers were so great that they parted into two societies; Gordon was made secretary to the division to which the deponent was allotted; and they only collected the different subscriptions, and elected the officers of the society. That deponent was at several other meetings, and that he at first considered that the objects of the United Irishmen were mere reform of parliament and emancipation of the Catholics; but that at the time the Yeomanry Bill passed, Gordon, who was then a delegate to the county committee, acquainted him that these

were not the real objects of the United Irishmen, but entirely to overthrow the state, king, and government; and that there were laws then in consideration, to substitute in place of the present constitution, when it should be overturned. Afterwards, about the beginning of January, at a divisional baronial meeting, at the house of Mrs. Nichols, on a Sunday morning, when he (deponent) was recommending that the United Irishmen should take the yeomanry oath, as it did not bind them to support, as he thought, the particular laws they complained of, said Gordon bid him not be busy, and then explained that the object of their societies was to overturn the state, king, and constitution, and introduce a republic; and the meeting seemed surprised of deponent's want of knowledge, and they all concurred with Gordon. At this meeting, John Henderson, James Miller, John Grimes, Allen Ingram, —— Mitchell, publican, Robert Montgomery, —— M'Couley, publican, and several others, were present: and at this meeting Gordon read a report from the county committee, to which he was delegate, stating the measures which the county committee had taken to supply the United Irishmen in jail with money, the sums which had been spent, and the manner. That they had taken methods to intimidate juries, and to circulate that the man who found an United Irishman guilty should lose his life; that their friends in Dublin would take care to prevent the prisoners in Dublin from suffering, were they even found guilty. Gordon also reported the numbers of United Irishmen, which was, to the best of his recollection, about 70,000; also gave in a return of arms, ammunition, pikes, cannon, etc.; and he recom-

mended to them to make a voluntary subscription for mounting six pieces of cannon, after which many subscribed sums of money for that purpose.

"Deponent saith, that about December last, in order to carry into effect the purposes aforesaid, there was an order from the county committee, which Gordon delivered, for all the societies to elect military officers; that Gordon himself, Philip Kelly, and Robert Philips, were elected by his society, which is No. 69; that the officers of every nine societies should form a military committee, and three members be elected from the different divisional military committees, to make the head military committee. That the following persons form the divisional military committee to which he belongs, viz., John Gordon; Philip Kelly, weaver; Robert Philips, weaver; Robert Neilson, painter; John M'Cann, jeweller; Richard Magee, cloth merchant; James Corkran, shoemaker; William Scott, a clerk; Ernest Corkran, tailor; James Burnside, weaver; John Queery, bookbinder; John Shaw, cloth merchant; John Tennent, merchant; Henry Speer, cloth shopkeeper; William Templeton, clerk in the "Northern Star" office; William Kean, ditto; James Green, shoemaker; John Grimes, merchant; John Dunn, shoemaker; Allen Ingram, smith; Robert Redfern, saddler; Robert Montgomery, a clerk; Hamill, publican; Alexander Kennedy, clerk to William Tennent; all of Belfast: and that he had been at four meetings of the military divisional committee; but little has been done except passing certain resolutions with respect to discipline, which deponent drew up, and which Gordon was to lay before the executive committee.

"Deponent says, that about six weeks ago, Gordon reported from the county committee, that reports had been received from all the committees in and near Belfast, that they were ready to take the field when ordered by the executive committee, and that they thought delay would be prejudicial to the cause; and in the evening of that day, Gordon told deponent that a million of money was going or gone to the French, to induce them to invade Ireland. Deponent further says, that at the time of the French appearing off the coast, Gordon gave instructions to his committee, in the name of the county committee, that the people should keep quiet, and put up with any insult, sooner than give reason for government to injure them; and that those who told the people it was time to rise, would be of disservice; but if the French effected their landing, fresh orders would be issued. All the officers of the United Irishmen were instructed to make up their lists, which they did, and deponent gave in the list of his men, which was thirty-six or thirty-seven. Deponent says, that matters are conducted with great secrecy among the United Irishmen; that the inferior committees are not let into the secrets of the superior, either the county or provincial committees; and deponent understands that there is an executive committee in Belfast, but he does not know of whom it is composed. Deponent further says, that he verily believes he has often heard the same; that Dr. Crawford, of Lisburn, is one of the principal leaders of the United Irishmen; that in the course of last summer, at the house of Dr. Derham, Dr. Crawford gave him the sign of an United Irishman with his left hand, and then called

deponent out of the room, and asked him whether he had any constitutions of the United Irishmen in his pocket, and on his saying no, he said he should always carry one with him, as he might watch the sentiments of persons in company, and take favourable occasions for making them United Irishmen. Examinant also says, the Rev. Mr. Kelburn, of Belfast, is one of the heads of the United Irishmen; and that he acknowledged to him last year that he was one of the county committee, and asked if he had not received their last report, and seemed surprised and angry when deponent told him he had not. Deponent further says, that one of the great objects of the United Irishmen is to swear the soldiers and militia men to be United Irishmen, and to seduce them to desert, and that every exertion is, as he believes, made for that purpose. Deponent further says, that in last summer, John Golding, carver and gilder, of Stephen Street, Dublin, James Murphy, of Kilcock, in the county of Meath, and —— Metcalf, came to Belfast, in order to join the Defenders of Dublin with the United Irishmen of the north. Deponent met Golding in the streets, whom he knew in Dublin as a member of the philanthropic society, to the best of his recollection. He then introduced them to Thomas Dry, *alias* Jackson, who carried them to Joseph Cuthbert, tailor, in order to swear them; and about two or three days afterwards he was present when said Cuthbert swore Golding to be a secretary of the United Irishmen, and gave him two books of the United Irishmen's constitutions, with which he went away from Belfast. Deponent further says, that about December last, the military committee elected twelve

of their members to be a private committee, for the purpose of securing the safety of their societies, by preventing detection, by giving notice of suspected persons, and taking off informers; but nothing particular has been yet done by that committee, of which the following persons are members: — John Gordon, James Burnsides, Richard Magee, John Queery, Henry Speer, —— Queery, Robert Neilson, junior, —— Hamill, John Shaw, John Grimes, Robert Montgomery, and himself. Deponent further says, Carmenthan, a French teacher in Belfast, is a secretary of United Irishmen, he having shown him a table of the societies in Belfast, amounting to one hundred; and he has seen him in his society, and he is considered as very active. Deponent further says, that he knows John Simpson, cloth merchant, to be an active United Irishman; and said Simpson, in company with William M'Cracken, Alexander Gordon, and Thomas Storey, went with deponent, in the course of last summer, to seduce the artillery men at Belfast, to the house of M'Crea, where they met two artillery men, one of whom was Smith, and settled that fourteen artillery men should desert, and be furnished with clothes and money; and the said Smith did afterwards desert, and he understands the others also deserted. Deponent also says, that he understands that the United Irishmen expect the French soon to land, and that they intend to join them; and deponent believes that there will be soon an insurrection, and that the government and the constitution will be overturned, unless government shall prevent it by immediate and vigorous measures. Deponent further saith, that at the time of giving this examination, he has seen a printed

copy of the declarations, resolutions, and constitutions of the societies of United Irishmen, which are the same as those referred to in this deponent's examinations, and which he has now marked and identified.

"Sworn before me this 14th day of April, 1787.

"Edward John Newell.

"CLONMEL."

The next morning Cooke's black servant came to me to the Ulster hotel, where I then lodged, with a note, and on waiting on Cooke, he informed me I must immediately go down to Newry; that I should there meet General Lake, to whom an express had been sent for that purpose, and several other officers, with the commander-in-chief. He gave me ten guineas and the following note, which was carried by Bob Murdoch: —

"Dublin Castle, April 15, 1797.

"SIR,— The bearer of this, Mr. Murdoch, is a firm friend of government, and accompanies a Mr. Newell, who has given us the most valuable information concerning the United Irishmen of the north; you will please to allow him any money or number of men he may demand; they are to obey his orders, and you are to take his advice in all affairs relative to this business.

"I am, sir, your obedient humble servant,

"EDWARD COOKE.

"To Lieut.-General Lake, Belfast."

On my way to the north, I met Lord Carhampton and his aide-de-camp, Captain Eustace, who had been

waiting for me some time. After dinner, over our wine, we had a great deal of discourse about unitedism: he described his knowledge of an assassination committee being in Belfast, of which, he said, he had several informations on oath, that Joseph Cuthbert, a tailor, was one of the principal men who formed it.

He expressed his sorrow that interesting business, which called him to another part of the kingdom, prevented his going to Belfast, and explained the tortures and punishments he would inflict on the rascals who had been guilty of such crimes.

On our leaving the Man of War, he desired me to stop where he did, as his guards would be a protection to me, and that he would expect to meet me at Hanlon's, in Newry, at one o'clock next day. According to his directions, I met him at the hour and place appointed, on Easter Sunday, April 16. After a long discourse between him, General Lake, and me, we settled that the next evening, at eight o'clock, troopers should wait upon me at Murdoch's to conduct me to the general's house at Belfast.

While in Newry, the following occurrence took place: —A Mr. Turner of that town was standing in the parlour of the inn, talking to Miss Hanlon; he had about his neck a green handkerchief, which Lord Carhampton perceiving, went into the room, accompanied by a number of officers, and demanded, in a most insolent and ungentlemanlike manner, "How he dared to wear round his neck that symbol of rebellion?" to which Mr. Turner, in the most polite manner, replied, "It might or might not be a symbol; it was immaterial to him; he liked the colour, and would wear it."— Lord C. then

told him "He would tear it from about his neck." Mr. T., in the boldest manner, told him, "While surrounded by his officers, he might do as he pleased"; and putting his hands behind his back, held forward his head until Lord C. took off the handkerchief. "In any other situation, my lord," said Mr. T., "you durst not have done so. Your behaviour is not that of a man; you shall find that I am one, and you must acknowledge yourself guilty of robbery."— On leaving the room, Lord C. asked "Who was that rascal?"— Mr. Turner himself answered, "He should find he was a gentleman."— Lord C. then told the officers present, wherever they met this symbol of treason and rebellion, no matter on whom, they should tear it from them, and trample it under foot; he had set the example. In the course of the evening or morning, Lord C. received a note from T., the consequence of which was, Lord C. making an ample apology to Mr. T. for the impropriety of his behaviour.

That evening Lord Carhampton gave me the countersign, which was his own name, for the purpose of going through the town, and having any person I knew dragged to the guard-house.

On my arrival at the house of General Lake, he met me in the hall, and introduced me to Colonel Barber and to the perpetual high-constable of Belfast, the consequential little William Atkinson. After the necessary introduction, the general asked me how I first intended to proceed. I said, the soldiers whom I had informed against were those I intended first to arrest. His answer was, there should be no soldiers arrested. I told him I would certainly take them, as the very men

who were in danger from me might be those who went as a guard with me, and that, instead of protecting, might themselves be the very first to injure me. He said it was true; yet his determination was, that no soldier should be made a prisoner, and his commands should be so. I put him in mind of the orders he had received; of my not being under his command; and that if I could not do as I pleased, I would return to the Castle, and inform government he had prevented the execution of the scheme settled between Cooke and me. When he found I was determined, he acquiesced, and told me Colonel Barber would do everything I wished, of which the colonel himself, in the most flattering manner, assured me.

We then, according to my plan, set guards at the doors, both front and rear, of every public-house to which the friends of liberty generally resorted, and after trying the houses of individuals against whom we had warrants, we searched those of the publicans where we had left the sentries, and took, according to Cooke's directions, all those we had or had not anything to warrant such arrest, except their being suspected to be honest men. After we had made prisoners of near twenty worthy fellows, we marched them to spend their time in the solitary confinement of the Colonel's bastile, the artillery barracks. We paraded all parts of the town, and did not disperse until past four in the morning. Colonel Barber told me at parting he would call out to see me in the morning, but as I was fatigued, we agreed to defer our nocturnal rambles until Wednesday. Next day, I received, through the hands of Murdoch, the following note: —

"Tuesday evening.

"Colonel Barber's compliments to Mr. Murdoch, begs he will tell Mr. Newell that some very particular business prevents his calling on him this day, but will be at Mr. Murdoch's on the forenoon of to-morrow."

The next day, April 18, Colonel Leslie, attended by an officer, called on me at Murdoch's; he said he came out to let me know he had been informed by General Lake that some of his men were to be taken up, and that he would not allow it, as he was confident they were innocent, and not a more loyal set of men in the kingdom. As to their innocence, I replied, I should not account to him as I had done it to those who were above him, and from whom I had received such power as made me despise his resolution; and that I would arrest and bring in their place whoever should try to prevent me from making them prisoners. He asked, who were the first in his regiment to be taken? I informed him of Corporal Real, and either twelve or thirteen others: they were arrested by Colonel Leslie, on his return to town, as I understood, to prevent the disgrace of my taking them out of his regiment. They all denied having any communication with United Irishmen, or knowing anything about the business, and ever continued so, except Corporal Real, who, on being stripped of his regimentals, and threatened with immediate transportation to the bastile of Dublin, where every cruelty of punishment should be inflicted on him, confessed everything, and afterwards prosecuted the others to conviction. The reason of my discovering against the Monaghan soldiers was, because they had among them-

selves threatened the murder of their officers, as I was informed. This, even when my utmost wishes were for the success of the cause, I never thought it would attend on such complicated crimes.

But to return. On Corporal Real's confession of what I had informed, the following are my examinations.

"County of Antrim, to wit. } The examinations of Edward John Newell, who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and examined before Gerard Lake and Lucius Barber, Esqrs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county:

"Sayeth, That on or near the month of December last, in the sixty-ninth society of United Irishmen, he met Corporal Real of the Monaghan Militia, and that he sat while all their business was doing; that by desire of Gordon and John Henderson, he, examinant, and a man of the name of Atkinson, gave Real two constitutions, first administering the secretary's oath, as set forth in the constitution, and gave him the thanks of the societies and committees for being so active, and that he assured him he had himself put up thirty-seven or thirty-eight of the Monaghan Militia.

(Signed) "EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"April 19, 1797."

Colonel Leslie, in the most polite and gentlemanlike manner, came out to Murdoch's with the same gentleman, and apologized for the doubts he had formerly expressed for his behaviour on that day; and assured

me that so convinced was he of my propriety, that if I chose, he would call out the whole regiment in the barrack-yard, and whoever I pointed out should, without anything more, be led to instant confinement. This proof, however flattering, of his confidence, I did not accept.

In the evening the sport of man-hunting again commenced, with our usual success, having been executed in the same manner. That evening we showed how little respect was paid to propriety of conduct, for not even a freemason lodge, in which some of those determined enemies of despotism were sitting, could protect them from being taken; although, for once, we acted rather mildly; for, by my orders, and knowledge of the men present, I might have marched almost every man to prison. We took but one, nor should that one have been taken, but that his name had been in the warrant, Mr. William Davidson. The alleged crime was, coming into a room where some papers were reading, and approving of the manner they were written, in consequence of which the following examinations were filed: —

"County of Antrim, to wit. } The examination of Edward John Newell, of Belfast, who, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and examined before Gerard Lake and Lucius Barber, Esqs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, saith, that on or about the month of February last, in the house of M'Caul, a publican in the said town of Belfast, there attended a meeting of the sixth divisional committee of United Irishmen, of which the examinant was a member, and that he there met William

Davidson; that said Davidson remained there during all the time of business, reading reports, voting supplies to arm United Irishmen, and hearing the business of the county and provincial meetings; the state of a number of arms, ammunition, etc.; that examinant produced an address for the speedy method of having United Irishmen properly disciplined, and that said Davidson gave his vote of approbation and support to the address, for the purpose of having it laid before the executive committee: that therefore Davidson is an United Irishman, and therefore a dangerous man.

"Sworn, etc., April 22nd, 1797.

"E. J. Newell."

After parading the town, we returned with the colonel, where, with wine, loyal toasts, and execrating of the rebels, we spent the remainder of the night, and then, in the greatest style, were guarded to our respective habitations. This sort of business continued for that week in the same routine. In that week, I received from Colonel Barber twenty guineas, and a desire to demand as often and as much as I chose. During this time the general, accompanied by crowds of officers, daily attended at Murdoch's to look what should be done with those taken, and who should be arrested next. On Thursday evening, having expressed a determination of appearing in Belfast on Saturday morning, to arrest some people who were too much on their guard to be taken at night, I on Friday received the following note:

"Colonel Barber has just received Mr. Newell's note; will call on him before eleven o'clock to-morrow. In the

meantime, hopes he will not attempt coming into town until he sees or hears from him. Appearing in Belfast without the approbation of General Lake might be improper, and not have the good effect remaining quiet might produce; as neither Mr. Newell nor Colonel Barber can tell the instructions General Lake may have received from Government; therefore it is incumbent in Colonel Barber and Mr. Newell to wait the general's pleasure, and follow the directions he may give.

"Belfast, Friday, April 28th, 1797."

In the "Northern Star" appeared an advertisement to this effect:—"Though great rout has been made about people taking up arms with their faces blackened, yet there is no notice taken of a ruffian, who, with a handkerchief on his face, haunts the town to the ruin of peace and conviviality; and one who, if we are informed right, is to receive £3,000 for swearing to every man obnoxious to Government." In answer of which I wrote these reasons, as they were dictated to me by Colonel Barber, many of which were distributed.

"To all Honest Men.

"Roused with indignation at the means which the editor of the 'Northern Star' has taken to blind your eyes, and raise in your breast that abhorrence, which every man must have to the villain who would barter his conscience and the blood of his countrymen for gold, common justice requires that I should say something to confute their malice. Long have I been wandering in delusion; long have I been what they call a steady and honest man; ever active to promote what I then thought the cause of liberty, and in which I had been

too much an enthusiast. At first I was blinded by the idea of a parliamentary reform, and long thought that alone was their consideration; and even when my eyes were open, when, upon a thorough knowledge of the business, I knew that a total revolution and extermination of Government and its friends were its aims,— that bloodshed and anarchy alone were to prevail, and that all the enemies of their constitution were, without mercy, to be butchered,— still I stood firm to my principles, and still should have been so, but for their returns to my constancy and activity. When, for happening in the course of business to visit at the house of a friend to Government, the assassination committee of Belfast would send their agents to murder a man who never gave them cause even in the smallest manner to be displeased with him — when, without preface, daggers, knives, and pistols are shown to him as a reward for his services,— what heart but must be roused to revenge for such a return? what heart but must abhor that community who could plan and execute such premeditated villainy? — These, then, are my reasons for my proceedings, not the promises of Government; nor did Government ever hold out any artifice or bait to bribe me to the business; but conscious how long and how far I had been led astray, I thought some restitution should be made my country for the time I had been an instrument in promoting her ruin. Unsolicited, therefore, I went to Dublin; unsolicited, I made my discoveries, and so will go through the business, as a debt I owe every honest man, and as what alone, by helping to save my country from confusion, can alone cause pleasing sensations to the mind.— Be not then, my

countrymen, longer blind to the infatuation of your situations: let me have the pleasure of calling you from ruin. What do you fight for, and what is against you? The law, the army, and all the true friends of liberty and peace. For what do you fight? For ends you don't understand, for ends you never can obtain, and which, if attained, you never could enjoy. Consider, an ignominious death constantly awaits you; and should you be fortunate enough to escape that, the reward of your services from what you now esteem your friends, like mine, would be daggers when they had received all the services you could render them.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL."

I returned about four o'clock on Sunday morning, April 30th, from the last of those nightly expeditions, in all of which Bob Murdoch acted as my aide-de-camp, but was too cowardly to even enter a house with me. About twelve in the day I received this note: —

"Belfast, Sunday, April 30th, 1797.

"SIR,— An express is just come from Mr. Cooke for your immediate repairing to Dublin.

"You will therefore, without loss of time, directly come to my house, as I have some things to communicate to you and transact, prior to your leaving this! Let young Mr. Murdoch accompany you. Slip in, and in the most private manner you possibly can; but be sure have some of the Highlanders in view, lest some insult might be offered you:

"And am your humble servant,

"LUCIUS BARBER.

"Mr. Newell."

We then took our leave of the family, some of whom I parted with sincere regret, and old Murdoch, having a sore leg, escorted us on horseback, as far as the Long Bridge. When we arrived at Colonel Barber's, he showed me an express that I was wanting to appear before the secret committee of the parliament, that he had carriages provided, and that General Lake would attend me immediately. On his arrival, we settled about my constantly informing him of those who should be taken; a list was to be sent to me, and I was to mark such as were dangerous, who were immediately to be arrested. I then got twelve guineas from Colonel Barber; he wanted to give me more, but I had no use for it; I also received the following note:

"Sir,— Agreeable to your commands, I send up Mr. Newell, and inform you, that since his arrival here he has been indefatigable in performing his duty and your commands, running, in the performance, every risk of his life — and in which he has also been accompanied by Mr. Murdoch: —

"And am, Sir, etc.,

"G. Lake.

"April 30th, 1797.

"Edward Cooke, Esq., etc."

During the time I was at Colonel Barber's, Colonel Leslie brought up a soldier of the name of Donnelly; a man with whom I had been formerly intimate, and against whom I had given information: this fellow, with the greatest firmness and effrontery, denied the least knowledge of me, though I recalled to his memory many

circumstances which would have staggered the confidence of any man but himself. He denied knowing the people I mentioned; did not know where I lodged; had never seen me before. Some time after, I quietly asked him, pretending at the same time to be otherwise engaged, how long he had been acquainted with Magee before I had seen him drink tea there. The simplicity of the question, the motive of which he did not perceive, put him off his guard, and he answered about three weeks. When he found he had betrayed himself, he then acknowledged the truth of what I had said.

A little before our departure, a Mr. Felix O'Neil, who, no doubt, had heard of my being in town, and not having the pleasure before, I suppose, wished to see me, being old acquaintances; he came towards the Colonel's to have that satisfaction. As it would be ungenerous to let such a mark of his esteem go unrewarded, I recommended him to the Colonel, who immediately claimed his acquaintance, and provided him with a free lodging, and had the goodness, in a few days, to have him carefully removed to the metropolis.

The following examinations are the only remaining ones of which I have a copy, from amongst a vast number laid before Generals Lake and Barber, at Murdoch's. These were lodged some days after the prisoners being arrested.

"County of Antrim, to wit. } The examination of Edward John Newell, who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and examined before General Lake and Lucius Barber, Esqrs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, saith,

That, on or about the latter end of January last, in the house of William Astler, Belfast, publican, he there was in company with the said William Astler and a man of the name of James Irvine; that they drank for some time, and that he knew Astler by his behaviour to be a United Irishman; that at the request of the same William Astler and Irvine, he, examinant, swore the same James Irvine to be a United Irishman, the said Astler providing a prayer book or Bible; and that the said Astler bolted the inside of the parlour door, and was present, aiding and assisting examinant in administering the oath.

"Sworn before us," etc.

We left Belfast about four o'clock, the 30th of April, and at twelve the next day arrived in Dublin, having travelled in chaises and four, which were carefully ready at every inn — an express went before for the purpose. We were accompanied by little Atkinson, Lieutenant Ellison, and Major Fox, who bore the expense of the journey, and had also a strong escort.

The guards made the people believe us to be prisoners, and when we stopped at an inn, numbers flocked round the carriages, commiserating our sufferings, and requesting to know how they might assist us. I own that my heart bled at their generous treatment.

When we arrived in Dublin, we waited on Messrs. Cooke and Pelham, who, after questioning us on the good effects produced by what had been done, and a determination of prosecuting the scheme of terror further, informed me that on Tuesday I should be before the Committee of the House of Commons, and, on

going away, gave me ten guineas to take care of myself, until a place was provided for me in the Castle. This was in one fortnight £36 8*s*. I had received; a very promising appearance on the first commencement of the business; but, as the sequel will show, falls far short of the manner in which I was afterwards treated.

During two or three days, I dined with Mr. Fox, and shall only give, as proof of his generous treatment and the allowance of government, that I have seen him, for one dinner and wine for six persons, pay above seven pounds. The remainder of that week, and part of the next, I slept at Mr. Cooke's, in the Castle, and breakfasted with himself. Murdoch and I dined and supped in the Castle Tavern, at the rate of three guineas a day, which Mr. Cooke cheerfully accounted for.

On the 3rd of May, I attended in the Speaker's chamber at the parliament house, and at two o'clock was admitted to the room where the Secret Committee were then sitting. After the usual formalities, I was, with great ceremony, placed in a high chair, for the benefit of being better heard.

I went through the subject of the examinations, improving largely on the hints and instructions Cooke had given me; propagating circumstances which never had, nor, I suppose, ever will, happen; increased the number of United Irishmen, their quantity of arms and ammunition; fabricated stories, which helped to terrify them, and raised me high in their estimation, as a man whose perfect knowledge of this business made his information of the highest importance. I told them of laws framed to govern the republic, when they had overthrown the present government, many of which

Edward Newell

The Informer. From an Engraving by T. W. Huffam, after a Sketch by Himself

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they approved of highly, though they had no foundation but the effusions of my own brain. I embellished largely the dangers that royalty and its friends were liable to from the machinations of the United men, who, I informed them, were regularly disciplined, and constantly improving themselves in military tactics; assured them there was persons of the first rank and abilities connected with this business; that the French were hourly expected; they were to land at Galway, not at Bantry, as they supposed; that the people looked with eagerness for their arrival; and that government should not trust the people in the South, who had formerly pretended to rise in their defence, their loyalty being only *finesse*, the reader to join the French on their landing; that I was confident, from the disposition of the people, they would, in a few weeks, even if they did not arrive, attempt an insurrection, in which they were sure of succeeding, on account of their numbers, the justice of their cause, and their hopes from the soldiery.

They seemed dreadfully terrified at my information, and instantly become incapable of asking me any more questions relative to this business. Will it be believed that a boy, even one of the swinish multitude of the North, filled with consternation and terror the leaders of the army and the senate! — they who are the conquerors of Italy could *he* make tremble, by relating scenes of imaginary terror!

The attorney-general, after a long discourse upon the nature and danger of what he had heard, thought it would be advisable to try to conciliate the people by granting them some of their wishes, until government should be better prepared to resist, if granting would

have the desired effect. He then addressed me: "Mr. Newell, you must now consider that we are a select committee of the parliament of Ireland; that that Parliament is to be guided by these gentlemen; and that these gentlemen are to be guided in their proceedings by you; weigh well, then, the situation in which you now sit, and its consequences, and tell me, would a reform of parliament please the people, and put an end to disturbances?" "Sir, from my knowledge, nothing but the overthrow of government and establishing a republic would now satisfy the people."

Major Fox, Lieutenant Ellison, and little Atkinson were then called to identify the papers which had been seized with the societies taken in Alexander's, according to my information, and for which so many of our countrymen are now sustaining the loathsome sufferings of a pestilent tender. We were then dismissed with many thanks for our attention, and with every encouragement for our continuance in loyalty. I should have mentioned that Mr. Toler, the Solicitor General, during my discourse, assured the committee they might place the greatest confidence in whatever I advanced, as he had long known me; and until I went to Belfast, he was sure I was a most honourable lad.

As the committee of the Lords was only a routine of the same business, it is unnecessary here to mention it, except that for four hours I was with them; by my artifices, I raised in the breast of these hereditary wisdoms the same surprise and fear that I had before in that of the Commons, magnifying every report to enhance my own importance. In consequence of which, they agreed to the Report and Address from the Com-

mittee of Secrecy of the House of Lords, of the 12th May, 1797.

Three days after the sitting of the committees, I received the following from George Murdoch, hearth collector of Belfast.

"Belfast, 6th May, 1797.

"DEAR BOYS,— Your favours of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of May we received, which gave us much pleasure. Since you left this nothing new has turned up. Some of the gentry has returned to the town: Colonel Barbour was searching on Thursday for pikes in Belfast, but was not fortunate in getting any. Let me beg of you to give Colonel R. every information you can of what is going on. Enclosed you have Rob. Newell's advertisement; I am told his father is in Belfast. I have just received a letter from the Post-Office, telling me that there is a plot laid to murder me and my two sons, by either day or night, signed, a friend. I still have the Highlanders at my house. I wish with all my heart that Robert may get into the artillery. Do you expect that any of the prisoners will be shortly tried? Perhaps if Robert was to see Rowley Osborne, he might get from him where the Belfast cannon is hid. When do you think Belfast will be put out of the peace? Let me beg of you both to take particular care how you go out at night, as you have numerous enemies, and let me have a few lines every post, that we may know how matters are going on. Mr. Newell's chest was sent here the other day, but I am sorry to say it was rifled first of its contents, and nothing left in it but a few pieces of paper; it had been forced open.

"Mrs. Murdoch, Joseph, and family, join me in best wishes for you both; and believe me to be, dear boys,

"Your ever affectionate,

"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"Messrs. Newell and Murdoch."

COPY OF THE ENCLOSED ADVERTISEMENT ABOVE ALLUDED TO

"I, Robert Newell, jun., apprentice to Mr. Moore Echlin, attorney, having learned with unfeigned concern that my brother, Edward John Newell, miniature painter, has been for some time past in the practice of going through the town of Belfast, disguised in the dress of a light horseman, with his face blackened, and accompanied by a guard of soldiers, pointing out certain individuals, who have in consequence been apprehended and put in prison, and that this practice has been repeated night after night, and a number of inhabitants of the town have been so taken up, and confined in barracks and military prisons: now, howsoever severely I feel the mortification of being driven to publish the misconduct of an unfortunate brother, I think it justice to my own character to express my abhorrence of so unworthy a proceeding. If this unfortunate young man had become fairly acquainted with any fact, which in conscience and honour he thought necessary to public justice to disclose, I should never have censured him either publicly or privately, had he come forward, and been fairly confronted with the accused; but to act the part of a secret and treacherous informer, is to do what in my mind is a violation of every principle of

conscience, honour, or manhood. This young man has been unluckily disconnected for some years past from his family, and I trust, but for this circumstance, he could never have fallen into such company, or such a course of life as he appears to have led.

"R. NEWELL, JUN.

"Great Britain Street, Dublin."

The time that this publication, dictated by my father, appeared, Mr. Cooke used every means in his power to raise my exasperation to such a pitch as to get me to swear against my father. He said he would not, indeed, advise my prosecuting him, but the lying in jail he richly deserved, and would be a very proper punishment for intermeddling in the affairs of Government. He was confident he was a United Irishmen, or I could never have been so strong in the principles; and he thought I should have satisfaction, both for his former usage and his present conduct; which, bad, however, as I was, I declined. But in answer to the above, I published the following: —

"Shocked at my father's duplicity, and his publication signed by my brother, I must beg leave to expose his behaviour to the eyes of a candid and discerning public. When I was last summer in Belfast, I was constantly troubled with his messages through my relations, and letters, condemning me for being connected with United Irishmen, and offering me a reinstatement of his affections if I would give up United Irishmen to the justice such rascals merited; these were his own words. Enthusiastic in their cause, I scorned his offered friendship, and stood firm to my ground, confident, from his

past unnatural conduct, that not affection or regard for me was his motive for wishing me to act so, but a hope of making himself considered as an active friend of Government. And had not the people of Belfast, by their attempt at murdering me, warranted my proceedings, I would still have continued true to that cause I have always been so much attached to.

"I am confident my father's publication is because he is actuated by fear, knowing I related these particulars to the people of Belfast as regularly as they happened, and lest they should think his unremitting endeavours had at length brought about what he so much desired, might, as they could not hurt me in my own person, take revenge upon him. Likewise, disappointed ambition for not being informed of my reformation, and having, as he wished, the honour of being thought to work it. As to my proceedings since, it was necessary at first to be disguised, that villains might not know who was against them, and by flight to escape the justice their crimes so justly merited. After the second night I never disguised, but walked the streets openly both day and night. As to whether I came fairly or not by my information, will be clearly proved in a court of justice, where every honest man will see the propriety of my conduct. Nor can the disapprobation of a boy, though guided by his father, cast the least reflection on it, or prevent it being acknowledged, that conscience, honour, and manhood alone actuated me. As to being unluckily disconnected with his family, as he calls it, I think it the most fortunate occurrence of my life, not only from being enabled by my knowledge of things to be an instrument in preventing anarchy and confusion, but also,

that I am unconnected with a family whose every act is guided by duplicity, cowardice, and meanness.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"Dublin Castle, May, 1797."

I at this time had been provided with rooms in the Castle, by Cooke's orders and under Mr. Dawes's direction, where every luxury was procured with the greatest attention to my pleasure, and every expense, however exorbitant, cheerfully discharged. I daily waited on Cooke, and had every time fresh proof of his kindness and wish for my ease and happiness. I now gave loose to every debauchery and extravagance, and in a few days had cause to repent of my folly. I had, before I fell ill, applied in favour of Bob Murdoch, to Cooke, who generously granted him a commission. He continued, however, with me. On the 13th of May I received this letter by Colonel R., being the medium through which I received Murdoch's favours.

"Belfast, 11th May, 1797.

"DEAR BOYS,—I received your favour of the 8th instant, which gives us all much satisfaction. Pray write me all the news you can collect; and if you send me a 'Freeman's Journal' it will be very interesting. How do the prisoners behave? Do they get half a guinea per day? Yesterday Mrs. Lewis and little George were at Durdonel, where they spent the evening: on their coming off, three young men belonging to Belfast came out of Mrs. Mark's, and began to ridicule Mr. Newell, and called him a damned rascal: upon which Mrs. Murdoch immediately jumped off the car,

and drew little George's sword, and swore she would run any lubberly rascal through the body that dare speak a disrespectful word of Mr. Newell; and at the same time she desired James to look out, and see if his master and Joseph was coming up, on which they all three ran off as fast as their legs would carry them. John Shaw is in town, but don't appear. Mrs. Murdoch is getting Mr. Newell's shirts made. Pray when do you both intend to be down? be assured it would make us happy to see you both here. This instant we have received your favour of the 9th inst., for which we return you thanks. I am surprised you would let Robert's publication give you a moment's uneasiness. You may live without your relations; but friends and good neighbours, may you never want them. Are you up? Pray what is the secret committee doing with Belfast? Will Belfast be put out of the peace? It ought ere this to be burned to ashes. On Saturday last seventy-five of the Monaghan militia went down on their knees and asked pardon and mercy, which was granted them; but seventeen of the stiff fellows and ringleaders of the regiment has had a court-martial sitting on them Monday, Tuesday, and yesterday, but as yet nothing has transpired: it is thought two or four of them will be shot, as Corporal Real has proved that they were to murder all their officers, and give up the several barracks, etc., etc., to their united *damned rascals*. Pray give Colonel R. as much information as you can; he is a rival friend. May the Almighty God give him happy years. Pluck up your spirits, and tell me when you will be down, as your bed and room is ready. Be assured you stand high in Mrs. Murdoch's esteem, and

ever shall in your humble servant's: keep it up; who is afraid? let the dogs tremble. We got some things belonging to you from Mrs. Philips. Mrs. Murdoch has cut a piece of muslin into handkerchiefs, which she will have ready, with the shirts, against you come here. Mrs. Murdoch will write to Mr. Newell in a post or two. What regiment is Robert to join? Mrs. Murdoch, Mrs. Lewis, Joseph, and the girl, with little George, joins me in love to you both, and wishing you all happiness.

"I am, dear boys, your ever affectionate

"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"*Verbatim et literatim.*

"P.S.— Let me beg of you not to meddle with your brother Robert on any account. I am certain that before this his own conscience will be punishment enough. Do you or Robert want anything? if you do, pray advise me. If convenient to you both, I would be glad you would go to Ringsend, and see Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and their family. I am told he is a gauger there. Ask Bob Murdoch if he called and done what Mr. John Johnson ordered him to do. Did you call on Mr. M'Cormick about William Robinson's gun? Be sure to write to us. What is Colonel R.'s opinion now of matters?

"G. M."

During the time between this and the latter end of June nothing material happened, except my application, agreeable to the desire of my friend, for the liberation of Mr. Davidson, of whom I said everything favourable that could be possible to say for the dearest

friend, and received an agreeable answer. I was during this time closely confined to my room, where, by Cooke's orders, attended by Mr. Stewart, the surgeon-general, to whose skill and attention I really owe my life. My medicines were all got in Murdoch's name, so fearful was government of my being poisoned. At this time I received the following letters:

"Thursday morning.

"Mr. Cooke's compliments to Mr. Newell, requests to know is there any charge against Cleary."

"Thursday.

"Sir,— He was taken up according to your orders of arrest, as I knew him to be an active United Irishman; but there is no oath against him.

"I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

"Edward John Newell.

"Edward Cooke, Esq., Dublin Castle."

"Belfast, 8th June, 1797.

"Dear Newell,— Your letter I received, covering the book per Doctor Atkinson, for which I return you many thanks. Be assured your not writing has given us much uneasiness. For God's sake, write to us at least every other day; you know I have many things to do that takes up my time; your silence makes us think you are worse, and every letter we receive gives us much satisfaction. Captain Kingsmall and I differed in opinion, on which he got very far up, and told me to leave the troop, which we both have done. I accused him of cowardice, which he denied; it is there-

fore left to you and Robert to determine. Pray do you recollect his writing to you, Robert, or me, requesting of us to apply to Colonel Barber, to get a guard to take his servant-man, which he dare not; and of writing us a note, saying, if Mr. Newell knew anything against the three young Edwards, as they were suspected people, it would be well done to take them up; and at the bottom of his note he said, burn or destroy this? Colonel Barber has the note relative to taking up his servant, and says he will take care of it. Pray recollect yourselves, and let me have your answer fully to the above, as he shall not dare to treat me with indifference. He wanted the horseman, after parading, to sit up as a guard on the footmen's arms, which we refused to do; as we told him, if the footmen could not take care of their arms, that if he delivered them up to me, I would put them under my own guard without putting him or Government to a six-pence expense. To this he would not agree; therefore we sent him, yesterday, our regimentals, etc. I wish we had a man of spirit: if we had, we could do business through the country, and not be lolling on a bed in a guard-room. On Monday we had a field day, and fired in honour of his Majesty's birthday; and such an illumination never was seen in Belfast: not a croppy dare speak, and all the disaffected had their windows smashed. We chaired General Lake, Colonel Barber, Mr. Fox, etc., through the Main Street; and in return I got a ride. We hear that several men near Newry have been shot and their houses burned, for attacking the army. We long much to see you both; and as this letter is so very long, it will serve you and Robert for this time. Mrs. Murdoch, Mrs. Lewis,

Joseph, Maria, Caroline, Charlotte, and George, desires their love to you, and Mrs. Murdoch says, if you do not write, you shall be flogged. Adieu, my boys.

"And believe me to be yours most sincerely,

"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"P.S.— I have just received Robert's letters, and the paper, for which we are thankful. Our love to Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and family. We are every day taking up the boys and putting them on board or sending them to confinement. Cunningham Gregg's house was wrecked, etc.; his furniture underwent a swinging. Are you UP?"

"Belfast, 19th June, 1797.

"DEAR BOYS,— Your favours I received, for which I am much obliged to you, and for the good news you sent me. Yesterday thirty-one united lads came in here prisoners; they are in the artillery barracks. I'm told Rowley Osborne is put in irons. Pray is it so? and what new thing is he guilty of? He well knows where the Belfast cannon is hid. All the country people are coming in to take the oath of allegiance. Captain Lewis arrived here last night. Is Bob in possession of his commission yet? if so, what is it, and in what regiment? Is there any word of your getting down, my lads? Be assured we long to see you here. Mrs. Murdoch and family joins in love to you, Edward and Robert, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan and family. And believe me to be,

"Dear boys, yours affectionately,

"G. MURDOCH.

"Messrs. Newell and Murdoch."

"Belfast, July 4th, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,— Yours came to hand on the 27th June, when I was in Newry. In your observations I firmly acquiesce; gratitude can never be looked for, where it never had the smallest foundation; and a revenge of the like tendency to our protectors, must proceed from black and rancorous minds. As to an observation of yours, that the person's punishment was not adequate to the crime, no one felt themselves more hurt than I did at the sudden forgiveness, and according to your opinion, as if it proceeded from your pen, as well as from my lips, I declare it to be an interlude to a repetition of the same offence. If she has the least spark of feeling, it ought to bring her to a sense of her duty to her, whose only wish is for her to conduct herself becoming the connection which she has with the best of families. It was owing to Joseph's indisposition, and intercession to his indulgent parents for her return, which made them consent to her return, though with reluctance. Mrs. Murdoch's arm is very black and very sore; and Mrs. Murdoch, to prevent company suspecting any misunderstanding, may speak to her, but is determined not otherwise.

"If you, dear friend, knew how ungrateful she was to me, when a mistaken pity induced me to say things in her behalf. When she was in a former disgrace, she availed herself of a moment's shyness between Mrs. Murdoch and me, which proceeded from the circumstances above mentioned, the poor cutthroat said in private to Mrs. Murdoch, that I had endeavoured to ingratiate myself in her esteem; but in a language similar to this, that she was proof against my pretended

friendship. She did not go untold of it. We all consider ourselves obliged to you for our existence. I and the family will never forget the obligation, for in the existence of my dear wife depends my own. Bob is an idle vagabond, or he would have wrote to me. Tell him so. Which neglect, in fact, does not prevent me sending my love to him.

"With the best respects to you from the whole of the family, remaining yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM LEWIS.

"P.S.—I am in a hurry, dinner is dished, and I am hungry."

"Belfast, 22nd July, 1797.

"DEAR BOYS,—I received Robert's of 15th instant, and would have answered it in course, but in hourly expectation of seeing you both here. Thank God, Joseph is recovering. All the rest of the family are well; but by no means let Robert and you part, but come together when you get permission, and do not stir without. When you get leave to come down, write to me, and I will meet you at Newry, Bandridge, or Hillsborough. The last letter I wrote you was returned to Newry, which I received from Colonel Ross, where I was attending our friends who were duly elected on Wednesday last, and I do not know where or how to direct to you; as to Robert's commission, let it come in course, and he will save by so doing, but do not disoblige your friends at the Castle. Does Mrs. Morgan call on you now? Mrs. Murdoch and family joins me in love to you both, and wishing you safe here — still keep up

the guard of five men — none of the croppies dare stir. Write to me by return of post.

"I am, my dear boys,

"Your affectionate friend, etc.,

"GEORGE MURDOCH.

"Mr. Edward John Newell."

On my recovery, I applied to go down to Belfast, as the Murdochs had so often invited me. I signed my name to Mr. Watkins's bills, who was the person appointed by Government to provide me with breakfast, dinner, supper, wines, jellies, etc.

The bill for May, odds of . .	£38	0	0
Do. June, upwards of	50	0	0
Do. July, about	72	0	0

I had liberty of inviting any person to see me; in the course of this time I had also received above fifty pounds to buy clothes, and more for other purposes; and were I to state the doctor's, apothecary's, and other bills which were paid for me, the sums would hardly be credited.

The day before I left town, I in the street arrested Mr. Carmentrang, the gentleman mentioned in the examinations, who not choosing to gratify Government with his knowledge of the business, was crammed aboard a tender, and never since heard of.

Having received twenty guineas from Cooke, and a desire to write whenever I wanted any more, I set off for Belfast, accompanied by my aide-de-camp, Ensign Murdoch. On my arrival at Fort George, I was received with the greatest friendship, and in the course of a few days had the honour of being waited on by almost all

the principal supporters of our holy Church and State in that part of the kingdom, to congratulate me on my recovery and arrival in the country, and to inform me that many of those, for whom I had formerly been searching, were returned to their wives and families, and could now be easily laid hold of.

At that time, I lived in the habits of the most endearing intimacy with the Murdoch family; there was no liberty thought too great for me to take, nor any favour too great to bestow on me.

On the 23rd of August, I received the following letter in answer to one I had written to Mr. Dawes, and which may serve as a specimen of many I have received upon the same purpose.

"Dublin, August 23rd, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 18th instant, and was happy to hear that you and Mr. M. were well. Agreeable to your directions, I waited on Mr. C——, and he gave me a ten guinea note, which I enclose you: there is no particular news in town: we are all very well. Give my best respects to Mr. M——, and believe me to be,

"Your very humble servant,

"S. D.

"Mr. Edward John Newell."

This letter is endorsed, "Dawes, ten guineas."

Never suspecting these letters would appear in print, the correspondence that took place has not, of course,

been entirely preserved; and it is even by chance that the few here laid before the public were not also destroyed, and which are far from being the most interesting. About this time a man of the name of Martin came to me to draw examinations against Charles Rankin, Esq., and some others, for high treason. Those examinations, by Mr. Rankin's interest, when offered to be sworn before Colonel Barber, neither he nor General Lake would admit to be done. I therefore enclosed the examinations in a letter, of which the following is a copy, to Lord Carhampton and also to Mr. Cooke:

"My Lord,— Conscious as I am that there are no persons who exert themselves more to detect treason or who wishes more totally to destroy it, I take the liberty of addressing your lordship, confident that riches or power will never bias your lordship where duty calls, and to lay before you the examinations of a poor man, against a man of property, who, because the poor man embraced the proposals held out by the proclamation for a return of allegiance, has ever since done his utmost to ruin the man. Mr. Rankin, every person about the country knows to be a strict republican, and I have often heard him talked of in our societies as a most active one. I am confident of the propriety of this part of the examinations which says, 'he was the cause of numbers being united.' I have the pikes mentioned, and I am sure, should it please your lordship, that the arresting of Mr. Rankin, and his servant M'Connell, would be of the utmost service to this part of the country. Should it be your lordship's pleasure, and if

your lordship shall find me always willing and determined in doing my duty.

"And am, my lord, with every respect,
"Your lordship's ever greatly obliged
"Very humble servant,
"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"Belfast, September 15th, 1797.
"To Lord Carhampton, Commander in Chief, etc."

On account of the jealousy which clearly showed itself towards me, by Mr. Murdoch's suspicion of a connexion between one of his family and me, I wrote to Cooke that I thought it necessary, and wished to return to Dublin. I some time after received the following answer:

"Dublin Castle, 30th September, 1797.

"SIR,—I received only yesterday your letter of the 19th, and enclose you ten pounds, that you may come up to town without delay, which by your own account seems necessary. Colonel Barber will assist you in your coming hither. When you arrive I will have the pleasure of conversing with you on the subject of the examinations which you inclosed.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"E. COOKE.

"Mr. Edward Newell."

In the latter end of October, I set off for Dublin, having first received from Colonel Barber twenty-four guineas, in addition to several prior sums.

Murdoch and his son Bob also accompanied me as evidences in my favour, and were I to search the world I could not have a better; for so willing was he to serve me, that he desired me on the journey to write out what I wished him to swear, and he would get it by heart and do so, let it be what it would, to assist me.

In Newry I met Mr. John Hughes, whom Colonel Barber had desired me, if I could by any chance meet with, to arrest; him, therefore, I made a prisoner, though I had no warrant or authority whatsoever for so doing but the direction of Colonel Barber, and sent him under a strong guard to Belfast. The crime alleged against him — his exertions to save the life of Orr! The next night I arrived in Dublin, accompanied by three others.

The 2nd of November, I received the following answer to the letter I had written upon the business: —

"My Dear Friend,— I had the pleasure of receiving your kind favour, for which I thank you. As to the inquest of Connell, a militia man in the City of Limerick corps, I gave the papers to Mr. Bristow; but I recollect the most of the jurors. The foreman was Dr. Gelston, next Alexander Gordon, James Alderdice, next Dr. Shephard, Richard Moore, James Kirkwood; as to the rest I am not sure. The verdict was 'accidental death,' which at the time they gave it in I thought to be false; however, let that be for a future day. I hope to see you on Saturday next, and then may tell you something more about it. Make my compliments

to Mrs. Murdoch, and believe me to be, dear Sir, yours truly,

"WILLIAM ATKINSON.

"Belfast, October 31st, 1797.

"*Verbatim et literatim.*"

On my arrival, Cooke and Kemmis severally applied to me to assist Bird in the prosecuting of Messrs. Kennedy, Shanaghan, etc., which I positively refused, and replied that, was I brought forward, from what I knew of Bird's character, my evidence would tend to injure rather than serve his testimony. The 3rd of November, Mr. Parroch and Mr. Robert Orr, of Belfast, passed through the Castle Yard, and as it was known they were principal exculpatory evidence against Bird, I informed him of the circumstance. He seemed greatly alarmed, and at his request I dodged them to Mr. Dowling's, their attorney, and also brought Major Sirr to Bird, having first left Mr. Dawes, the king's messenger, to watch where they should proceed to from that. When we arrived at Bird's room, he assured Sirr that they were most material evidence against him, and that if there were not some method taken to keep them out of the way, he would be ruined. I mentioned to Sirr that the best way would be to arrest them on suspicion, and keep them by until the trials would be over, and that I was confident they would be too much rejoiced at their enlargement to inquire the cause of their detention, fearful their inquisitiveness might be a means of having it prolonged. Sirr said it would be a great stretch of power, but the circumstance warranted it, and I, though I detested Bird, was willing to execute

it. Orr I could take on suspicion of being an United Irishman, but Parroch's character is too well known to be arrested on that charge. Sirr and I that night searched the north country inns for to take them; but not meeting with them, and the trials being next morning postponed, the business dropped.

Dutton, the Newry informer, having a recommendation to me from a gentleman of that town, called to see me, and a few days after our acquaintance, Dutton was arrested at the suit of Mr. Ogle; fearful he might receive insult, I brought a guard with me to the courts and sheriff's office to prevent it. He was not liberated above an hour when he was taken upon a second charge of the same gentleman's, and I was obliged to get Mr. Kemmis to bail him.

On the 8th of November I received the following:

"Belfast, 6th November, 1797.

"DEAR EDWARD,— I arrived here on Thursday night, and found all the family well, except Joseph, who still continues poorly. At Banbridge I met the brave Colonel Barber, Doctor Atkinson, etc., posting for Dublin. On Saturday morning I received your letter with the *subpœna*. I served Mrs. Boyd, and will serve Francis Obre this day. He and the family are removed to Lisburn. Please God, I shall post it up, as the coach is taken every day to the 14th instant. Captain Rankin is gone up, so is two Fargusons, brothers to Farguson of Smithfield. As jurors, object to them all, as also Mr. Lepper and John Hastings. All here is quiet. No word of Magee that I can depend on. Mr. and Mrs. Philips are quite well. James has enlisted with Col.

Barber. Let Robert get a coat and breeches made, and I will be with you on Thursday, and give him cash to pay for them, etc.——Mrs. Murdoch's eyes are very bad; as soon as she is well, she will answer your letter. She and family join me in love to you and Robert. Please to give my compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, and believe me to be, dear Edward,

"Yours truly,

"George Murdoch.

"My best respects to Mr. Dawes and son."

The night old Murdoch arrived in town, I had the honour of his company at my apartments at the Castle; Dutton, old and young Murdoch, Obre, Morgan, and Jameson, all of which, during my stay, lived with me, where I entertained them in the first style of elegance. After dinner, etc., we repaired to Mrs. Beattie's, where we spent the night in wine and debauchery.

The rapidly increased circulation of the "Press," as soon almost as it was established, gave considerable alarm to administration by the publication of those atrocious acts, which were universally suspected to have been perpetrated with the connivance, but to my knowledge, with the warmest approbation of ——, etc. It therefore became a matter of the last importance to put it down, and happening one evening over a bottle to mention to Major Sirr that I had, about two years since, repeatedly seen the printer, Mr. Finnerty, at several public places in this city, where I remarked he talked with freedom on any questions that occurred, immediately Sirr suggested to me the propriety of swear-

ing against him; and as Defenderism was the rage of that day, I was furnished with means sufficiently probable. Accordingly, the following examinations were drawn up, which, in case of his acquittal of the libel, for which he was then a prisoner and shortly to be tried, I was to have sworn.

"County of City of Dublin. } The examination of Ed. John Newell, of said city, miniature painter, who, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and duly examined before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county:

"Saith, that about two years ago, or better, he became acquainted with Peter Finnerty, of said city, printer, with whom he formed an intimacy: that some time after, being several times together in the house of —— Mathews, a publican, in Dame Court, he, the said Peter Finnerty, introduced the subject of Defenderism, which, finding was agreeable to exam., he proposed to exam. to become one; that, after some discourse on the subject, he, exam., gave him the sign of a Defender, which Finnerty answered, and seemed much and agreeably surprised, saying he by no means suspected he was a friend, and wondered he had not before known it. He told exam. that he was secretary to a society of Defenders, showed him a list of names, and invited exam. to come the next night of meeting, which he intended holding at the said Mathews', in Dame Court; that he went to Mathews' at the time appointed, and there saw the said Mathews refuse to let Finnerty and his party have

a private room, and they then left the house, and exam. stayed there, being ashamed to go with the men who then accompanied the said Finnerty.

"Nov., 1797."

As there was no business to be on the cloth this term, after a fortnight's stay, the expense of which, I am confident, was above a hundred guineas to government, we determined returning to the North; I therefore received from Mr. Taylor, Mr. Cooke's chief clerk, he being then in England, ten guineas for travelling expenses, seven guineas from Mr. Kemmis, and as it was impossible to get more until Mr. Cooke's return, I applied to Mr. Barber, who, with the utmost kindness, gave me ten guineas more on my giving him a receipt, as if I had received it before I left Belfast, he having no leave to give me money in Dublin.

Before Cooke went to England, he assured me that, according to his promise, he procured me a commission in the horse; that he got it out in another name, confident I would not wish to continue my own, but that he thought it better not to put me in possession of it then, as I might be questioned about it on the trials.

When I returned to Murdoch's, the same friendship and scenes of felicity continued, and on the 18th of November I received the following production of that champion of religion and good government, and of which the town and neighbourhood of Newry can bear testimony — Dutton: —

"Dublin Castle,
"November 16, 1797.

"DEAR BROTHER,— I beg leave to acquaint you that I arrived here last night. There appears nothing in the 'Press' either with or against us, therefore I don't think worth while to send it. Should any new thing make its appearance in the paper of this night, I shall send it to-morrow night, that is to say, if I do not sail for England before that. Mr. Kemmis, who I saw last night, tells me there is no less than five writs out against me, therefore you may well suppose if they should once lay hold of your celebrated brother, he will be as happy as if the Devil had him. I would be glad you would write to me to Emerald-house, Wrixham, near Chester, and let me know what you are up to.

"My best respects to the Murdochs. I hope when I return from England, they will be able to put me in the way of earning a couple of hundreds; this they can't be off doing if they wish to befriend me, for they must reasonably suppose that poor Dutton can't carry on all those lawsuits without a great deal of cash, and where in the name of —— is he to get it. I hope none of his friends would wish him to be hanged for robbing the mail-coach, or breaking into some of the banks. . . . Tell them to think upon this business; they have until the 9th of next month. Reflect upon it, and absolutely they might as well be guilty of murder as to neglect it; for I must see my counsel; and then, you know, there is another expense which I have not mentioned — . . . and I beg leave to subscribe myself your affectionate and celebrated brother,

"FRED. DUTTON."

"P.S.—I am now at Smith's, writing, and if you'd see his hair standing straight up on his head, you'd laugh, at my telling him the danger he must be in, when he comes into court to give in evidence, as I tell him there is a probability that some one or other may absolutely have the boldness to shoot him in open court; he firmly believes it will be the case.

"Lieut. E. J. Newell, Esq.,
"9th Light Dragoons, Belfast."

On the 20th of November, I received this by the name agreed on before by Cooke:—

"Dublin Castle,
"November 18, 1797.

"Mr. Cooke requests Mr. Newell will be kind enough to state what there is against A. Kennedy. He fled, and is applying to be admitted to take oaths, etc.,

"Mr. John Ramsay, at Mr. Murdoch's,
"Hearth Collector, Belfast."
Franked, Wm. Taylor.

To which I wrote the following answer:—

"Fort St. George,
"November 21, 1797.

"Sir,—I received a letter of yours desiring a statement of facts against A. Kennedy. Of his united principles I had no knowledge until I became a military officer, in which capacity I also met him in military company; he must, therefore, have been very active, or he would not arrive at that honour. I after understood

that he had been the principal and most active agent that had ever gone to the camp, and that he had made more soldiers united than any other man in this province. I know him to be a young man of most insinuating address, and a steady republican; and if I dare advise, it would be, not to accept of his oaths, as they would be only for a cloak. I see already the use that those who have been admitted to those liberties, and to bail, are making of them, and I really fear government will have cause to repent their lenity.

"I am, sir, etc., etc.,

"E. J. NEWELL."

On Saturday, the 2nd of December, on account of examinations sworn before General Lake, I received the following warrant:—

"County of Down. } In consequence of examinations lodged before me this day upon oath, against William Robinson, of the parish of Holywood, and county aforesaid, farmer; These are, therefore in his Majesty's name to command you to apprehend said William Robinson, and bring him before me, or any other of his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, to be dealt with according to law. Given under my hand, this 2nd of December, 1797.

(Seal) "G. LAKE."

And also a mittimus.

About nine o'clock that evening, accompanied by Bob Murdoch, I went with a party of troopers and arrested him, and, according to directions, brought away

whatever arms I could find, viz., two guns, three pistols, one sword, belt, powder-horn, etc. We kept him prisoner at Murdoch's until next morning, when I sent him off with a party of dragoons to Down jail.

That night, as we had every liberty, it being a proclaimed county, Murdoch and I searched several houses for arms, etc., racking everything, burning and destroying at pleasure, treating the inhabitants with such brutality, that some women on account of it fell into violent and dangerous convulsions.

One man in particular, of the name of M'Comon, whose door, being shut, we forced open, and dragged him and his wife from their bed; destroying everything that came in our hands, trying for arms, while the wretched inmates stood almost naked, trembling with the apprehension of immediate destruction from the ferocity of the soldiers, who constantly abused them for not informing where were the arms and papers, of which, as they said, we had information; and on continuance of refusal of confession, would have *set fire* to the house, but that I was restrained by pity from the pleadings of an old, distressed woman, and prevented the completion of it. When tired of this virtuous and noble amusement, we retired to drown in drink and exultation our villainy, the terrors of darkness, any thought of regret that should chance to occur for the atrocious barbarity of our conduct.

On the 6th I received the following note:

"Belfast, December 6th, 1797.

"Dear Sir,— Until I receive small notes for a large

bill I have to discount, I cannot at present send you more than nine guineas.

"Please to send a receipt for £11 7s. 6d. which includes the guinea you had from me on Sunday.

"It is unnecessary to interfere or employ soldiers of another corps: therefore must beg to be excused applying for one of the 22nd, to instruct you in the sword exercise, as I really am not intimate enough with the officer commanding there, to take on me to ask such a request.

"And am, sir,
"Your very humble servant,
"L. BARBER.

"Mr. Edward John Newell.
"P.S.— The bearer will hand you your receipt."

As Mr. Bird has taken the liberty of writing of me in a most unwarrantable style, as one of the most bloodthirsty cannibals, I must say, reflection should show him how maliciously false is the charge. Bird was an informer from sentiment; he made it his private profession, and was supported in it by Government, to whom he had applied for employment, and proved his abilities to be one. He stole into the confidence of men, he insinuated himself into their good graces, that he might know their sentiments, and turn them to their ruin and his profit. He was, however, detected in his scheme, and publicly branded with the title he deserved. Who, then, merits the character with which he distinguished me? He that traded on the lives of his fellow-creatures, bartered their safety and existence for gold, who could, with friendship, sit and smile in the face of the very

man whose ruin he laboured to accomplish; or I, who, driven by passion, was led to improprieties, roused to revenge by an unjust suspicion? Surely, he best deserves it. He coolly premeditated crimes; I only committed them. He was a villain by design; I only by accident. As to his assertion of never intending to come forward to prosecute, I can say it is a most infernal falsehood. He was determined, he was prepared, he got himself drilled by K. for the business. Dutton and I went there with him, his cowardice not allowing him to go alone; he also applied to me to assist him on the trial; and on my refusal, got Cooke and K. to use their influence with me for that purpose, but with the like success. These are facts; the whole battalion of which he was the founder can bear testimony, as well as Cooke and K.

Whether he considered me so base a character, his letters will show. This one I received December 13, signed by his then name of Smith, enclosed as follows:

"Wednesday morning, December 13, 1797.

"Sir,—The within came enclosed to me, from Mr. Smith, by last night's post.

"And am, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"L. Barber.

"Mr. Newell."

"Dear Sir,—The woman you lodged with in Castle Yard has treated me in a manner so vile and atrocious, that I am at a loss which to admire, her assurance, or her inventive faculty; for such I think must be the as-

sertion she made, when she said, 'you had sent her letters against me;' for I am unwilling even for a moment to suppose you guilty of such a dereliction of honour. I assure you, sir, this abandoned wretch (Mrs. Campbell) told Dutton we were a set of rascals, etc. That she knew us and would expose us. She —— Mr. Cooke and the Government to —— in a lump, and swore again, in the presence of a crowd, that we were a gang of thieves, robbers, etc., etc., and that she would expose us. She was so profuse of her compliments to Dutton, that he made a very early retreat, unable to stand or stem the torrent of abuse she heaped on us. Now, Mr. Newell, I leave it to your sagacity to discover this lady's meaning, when she called us a set of robbers, etc. Could she mean me solo? surely not! Could she mean me and Dutton? We were merely a duet. Was it yourself, as well as us, that formed a trio? Indeed she certainly must include you in the gang of thieves she so pathetically described.

"I will allow that the lady might be under the command of the potent Captain Whisky, or the more potent Usquebaugh. But be that as it may, I am seriously resolved to punish the scurrilous wretch, as far as the law permits. But at the same time I cannot suppress my inclination of stating her conduct to you, who I think more deeply involved by her abuse than myself, as the creature's knowledge of me must be infinitely too small to occasion such expressions; nor is my determination of punishing her to the extremity of justice lessened by her subsequent conduct, as she boasts of having your protection!!! I cannot suppose it possible it can be so — she merits your most indignant

scorn; and I have, Newell, much too good an opinion of you, to suppose you could descend to countenance so abandoned a woman. But as she has publicly declared 'she could produce letters from Newell against me, and would show them,' I write merely to give you an opportunity of contradicting her assertions; for, as I before told you, I cannot for a moment suppose you could be capable of an action so truly wretched and contemptible.

"I hope Mrs. Murdoch and yourself are well.

"Your most respectful and very humble servant,

"J. SMITH.

"N.B.—I beg the favour of an answer, directed under cover to Mrs. Morris, No. 5 Buckridge Court, Great Ship Street.

"December 11, 1797."

I answered this letter as it deserved, with a disbelief of its contents, knowing the person mentioned had no cause for such a report, or to abuse me, and one who had ever attended me with the greatest care and attention, and at whose request I wrote to Cooke and Mr. William J. Skeffington in her favour, as Smith had tried to injure her, she succeeded in spite of his complaints.

For this time nothing material happened. I enjoyed every diversion the town and country could afford, and the esteem of the Murdochs, except his jealousy began to increase. The following I received the 14th of December:

"Mr. Taylor would have answered Mr. N——'s

letter long ago, but he was obliged to wait for Mr. Cooke's directions."

And enclosing the following: —

"Castle, December 11, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,—I send you £20. I fear you may think I had forgot you, which was not the case, but I have been much hurried and fatigued. I am glad to find you are as active as ever.

"Your faithful, etc.,

"E. COOKE.

"E. Newell, Esq."

Some days following, I was sent for by Colonel Barber, to attend him at his own house, where I met him and big Moore, the sub-sheriff; they produced to me a long list of names, who they said were summoned to attend in Dublin as jurors, which I was to examine, and mark each name I knew or should dislike. I did mark some, the colonel a good many, with the assistance of the sheriff. Colonel Barber told me it was necessary the lawyers should know what men might be depended on to give a verdict in favour of my evidence; and notwithstanding which, Mr. Barber, on the 24th of January, deliberately swore in the King's Bench that he never assisted to pack the panel. Some time before the November term, little Atkinson, and a young man of the name of Moore, who I was told was an under-sheriff, waited on me at my apartments in the Castle, for the same purpose.

Murdoch's jealousy caused him to use Mrs. Murdoch with such cruelty, that, unwilling to be the cause of uneasines to one I so truly esteemed, I removed from Murdoch's. I reasoned with him about his treatment, and assured him he had no grounds for to warrant it. He, however, insisted I should return to his house, with which I after some days complied.

Day after day his severities increased, and in such a manner as showed him to be devoid of all sense of shame or decency, and that human nature never was so disgraced as this most infamous of mankind. A constant continuance of this outrage forced her to seek elsewhere that peace she was denied at home.

On the 16th of January, I received from Colonel Barber fifteen guineas, and on the 20th, ten; I also received a letter from Mr. Cooke, requesting my immediate attendance in Dublin, and referring me to the collector of Belfast for any money I might want; which letter is in Mr. Skeffington's hands, and by his order Mr. Salmon gave me twenty guineas. On Sunday, the 21st of January, having received the following order, I set off for Dublin, where I arrived the next evening, being accompanied by Mr. Francis Obre, as an assistant evidence.

"Belfast, 16th January, 1798.

"I am directed by Lieutenant-General Lake to desire you will give the necessary orders for a non-commissioned officer and five mounted dragoons to escort the bearer, Mr. Newell, from Belfast to Dublin; who must likewise be provided with a dragoon horse, to be re-

turned at Lisburn, Banbridge, Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your most obedient and humble servant,
"WILLIAM NICHOLSON,
"Aide-de-camp.

"_____

"Officer commanding the garrison, Belfast."

Next day old Murdoch came to town, and after some hot words which I, on account of his being drunk, took no notice of, he called on me the following morning, and requested I would think nothing of what had passed, as he was willing to bury all in oblivion, as he would not give the united rascals the satisfaction of thinking we had fallen out. This dispute had on me a different effect, and for the first time I began to feel remorse. I next morning went to the courts, ready and in waiting with the utmost painful anxiety for the moment which I should be called to the table. The satisfaction I experienced on the trial's being put off can only be conceived by one in the same situation. I trusted that during the long vacation something would turn up to prevent my being obliged to swear away the life of any person: my hope has been agreeably and happily realized.

During that week I made it my business to frequent an inn where several of the northerns lodged; their behaviour, which was friendly, struck me, and I determined to go on Sunday to see the prisoners in Kilmainham, which I did. There did these worthy sons

of their country forget my being the cause of their confinement, and received me as if I had still been what I once was. But believe me, I did not attempt to visit those whom I then intended to prosecute, though the generous fellows were willing to lay aside everything, and while I staid there, received me as a friend. No! bad even as I was, I could not meet in friendship the men I had determined to injure.

I determined no longer to be a tool, but to return to the principles, of which deserting had been the cause of all my misery. All the flattering prospects which government had placed before my eyes vanished before the reward which would await upon this conduct — happiness, peace of mind, confidence in the propriety of my behaviour, the forgiveness of those I had injured, and the hopes of once more being considered an honest man.

All this time Murdoch lived with me in the greatest friendship; we ate, drank, went to every diversion, arm and arm walked the streets: nevertheless, some friends informed me that Murdoch, on being checked by some for being seen with me, who had so injured the credit of the family, had assured them that he only waited for an opportunity to destroy me, and his show of friendship was for that purpose. I upbraided him with it. In the course of the business, he informed me that if ever I came to the North, three persons there had sworn to murder me, or fall in the attempt. I proved to him how little I valued the threat, and the business for this time stopped. But, in the evening of Sunday, January 28, I having dined out, on my return home found Murdoch waiting supper for me, and was

uneasy I could not sup, from being unwell. When I had stripped myself, and was stepping into bed, he drew a pistol from his pocket, and snapped it at my head. I therefore sent him to the guard-house, and next morning lodged examinations against him, who, from being the cause of my being an informer, I now doubly detested, and that evening lodged him in Newgate, where he enjoyed a refinement of misery, as some letters written by his wife to me had been taken out of a trunk of mine, the other contents of which had been destroyed. I wish to clear myself of the charge of sending them to him. No! though I would wish to punish him, it should not have been in that manner, and had I known it, he never should have seen them.

On Sunday night, the 4th of February, on returning to my lodgings in the Castle, the sentry refused me admittance, which I insisting on, he made a push at me with his bayonet, which I threw up, and received through my hat the stab — that which I suppose was intended for my heart. A very furious scuffle ensued, during which I discharged two pistols at him, for which I was carried to the guard-room, where, having used some warm expressions and altercations with the officers, Mr. Watson interfered and had me removed to my own rooms, where I was guarded, until ordered next day to be liberated.

On waiting on Mr. Cooke, he spoke to me rather warmly about my behaviour, and the sentiments I had used in the guard-room, and wondered how, after becoming an Orangeman, I could retain such rebellious notions. I assured him I was not yet an Orangeman, though, on being solicited by Dr. Atkinson, I promised

to become one after the trials. He seemed very angry at my having so long neglected so necessary a qualification; told me I did not rightly consider my obligations to government, for almost any other man would have been hanged who would dare to fire at a sentinel.

Even this great favour could not drive from my mind the determination I had formed of retiring from the paths of iniquity. I therefore wrote the following letter to a gentleman of popular character:—

"Dublin Castle,
"February 6, 1798.

"Sir,— From the confidence I have in your honour, and the knowledge I have of your character, I address you, though I never had the happiness of your intimate acquaintance, to inform you that, from the constant examples of the perfidy of government that are in my eyes — from what I suffer in my own mind — from the recollections of my own improprieties — from the manner I see myself despised by honest men, and the sensations I feel from my exposure in print, I am heartily sorry for my past conduct, and wish, through you, the people to be informed of it; and that if they will again receive me into favour and forgiveness, they shall never have cause to be sorry for it; and though I know the injuries I have done them to be great, I think I can make some restitution, by the exposure of the plans of government, in which I have been connected.

"And I am, sir, your very humble servant,
"Edward John Newell."

I on the next day received this answer: —

"SIR,— I received yours of yesterday, and shall not fail to make known your intentions to such as I associate with. And from what I know of the forgiving disposition of the people, I think myself justified in saying they would feel more real satisfaction in the forgiving of a penitent, than the punishing of an offender.

"Yours, etc.

"Mr. Edward John Newell, Dublin Castle."

During this time I lived even in greater extravagance than before; having continually large parties banqueting with me in the Castle, keeping also horses, attendants, etc.

Determined, however, to put my plan of elopement into execution, I applied to Mr. Cooke to send me to England, which he agreed to, fixing Worcester as my place of residence, where I was to take upon me the name of Johnston, and seem to follow the miniature painting, but should be regularly supplied from Government with whatever money I should write for. He desired my departure to be delayed for a few days; but, uneasy at my detention, on Thursday, 15th, I wrote the following: —

"SIR,— As you have not settled with yourself about my immediately going to England, I write to inform you, that, so uneasy is my state of mind from the reports that I hear, that if you choose not immediately to let me depart, I shall go off of myself, and depend

on my business for support rather than endure what I at present suffer. Nevertheless, I shall constantly acquaint you with the place of my abode, and shall ever be ready to contribute all in my power for the welfare of Government.

"Sir, etc., yours, etc.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"Edward Cooke, Esq."

Which was answered in less than an hour.

"Mr. Cooke's compliments to Mr. Newell: he has spoke on the subject of his wishes, and he may go to England. Mr. Cooke wishes to see Mr. Newell to-morrow morning.

"Castle, Thursday."

I waited on him the next day for the last time, and on my taking leave, received from him fifty guineas, with direction to write and give him every information of occurrences; and about ten o'clock that night I took leave of the Castle, and bid a long adieu to all my greatness, and here put an end to a life of upwards of ten months which was fraught with every scene of infamy, luxury, and debauchery, during which I must have cost the Government a sum of no less than two thousand pounds, as a reward for having in that short time been the cause of confining 227 innocent men to languish in either the cell of a bastile or the hold of a tender; and, as I have heard, had been the cause of many of their deaths; as also for having been the cause of upwards of 300 having fled from their habitations,

their families, and industry, to hide in the mountains, or seek for safety in some distant land; and as I was the first who informed against any of the military, by the taking up of Real, who was terrified into our measures, until he informed on the rest of the Monaghan regiment, and prosecuted the four brave men who were shot at Blaris camp, and whose blood must lie on my head; and many other crimes, for which my future life, I fear, will never be able to atone.

Shortly after my departure, I sent the following letter to Mr. M'Gucken, attorney, enclosing one to the prisoners: —

"Sir,— From my knowledge of your political character and exertions in favour of the prisoners, I take the liberty of requesting you to lay before them the enclosed letter, and as a man whose goodness of heart will lead you to pity the frailty of human nature, that you will use your influence in my favour to gain their forgiveness, which from their generous behaviour to me in my visits to their prison, I trust not to be disappointed in; their kindness there first brought me to a thorough sense of my duty, their pardon will be the confirmation of my adherence to it. Assure them they have nothing further to fear from me; worlds would not now bribe me to a continuance of my former improprieties, and, could life purchase a forgetfulness of my past unnatural conduct, with pleasure I would pay the forfeit. I enclose you a list of all the prisoners who have been taken to Belfast and vicinity, upon the common charge of treason, copied from one given me by General Barber, and I remark at the bottom those

against whom there is nothing but suspicion: your good sense will show you the use that may be made of it; and am, sir, with every respect,

"Your very humble servant,

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL.

"James M'Gucken, Esq."

"TO MESSRS. GORDON, BARRETT, AND BURNSIDE, ETC., KILMAINHAM JAIL.

"From you, whose steady and persevering conduct in the cause of humanity does honour both to yourselves and those with whom you are connected, and convinces the world how worthy *you* are of the confidence your countrymen have placed in you — to you who have suffered with pleasure in the horrors of a dungeon a long and close confinement, do I, who have been the cause of that confinement, dare to plead for forgiveness, because I know the generous philanthropy of your hearts. I can offer no other extenuation of the injuries I have done you than that I was instigated by anger and revenge. Enraged by the suspicions that were entertained of me when I was *really* honest, and knowing the punishment to which these suspicions exposed me, I resolved to take vengeance for the injuries I received. I became an informer: a false shame for a while prevented my return to honesty and truth. Did you know how galling it is to be suspected when undeserving — did you know, and it is the truth, that, though I could not withstand suspicion or insult, I had *died* with pleasure for the cause; and that being thought unworthy of the confidence reposed in me made life so invaluable to me, that desperation ensued, and drove me to those

crimes which, though I wish, I fear can never be atoned for,—I am sure you would pity more than condemn the act, though the continuance in iniquity deserves no mercy. I rely on your goodness, and hope the proof I shall give of my sincere repentance, by the exposure of Government, and a life devoted to the service of my country, will partly atone for me, and make me again worthy of your esteem and confidence;

"And remain, etc.

"EDWARD JOHN NEWELL."

Having got out of the reach of my enemies, and finding myself once more comfortable amongst some of my old acquaintances, who had by mere good luck escaped sharing the same fate of the rest, and who I highly entertained, relating to them several exploits, opinions, fears, and inquiries of the conductors of Government; informing them of the many modes by which they got their informations, who the different private informers were, some of which they had never suspected; as also the manner that business was conducted at the post-office.

On the 23d of February, I wrote four letters, one to the Lord Lieutenant, one to Mr. Cooke, one to General Barber, and one to Mr. Watson, private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; and which were delivered to them by a friend of mine, and the copies left for insertion in the "Press," and of course carried off at the ransacking of that office. I shall, however, attempt to give a sketch of the one of his Excellency, from memory, and Mr. Cooke's as it appeared in print:—

"My Lord,— After having been so long an inmate of yours at the Castle, it would be the height of ingratitude in me to take leave without returning my most sincere thanks for the many marks of attention and uncommon kindnes conferred upon me; and for the fifty guineas which I received on Saturday. I beg leave to give you a piece of the most important and really the truest information you ever received from me, and that is, to follow my example and decamp.

"For your free and gracious pardon for every act which I committed previous to my becoming an informer, I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks, and you may rest assured that I will carefully preserve it. Wishing therefore your Lordship a long and final adieu,

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"E. John Newell."

"to edward cooke, esq.

"Sir,— As I hope in a few days to present you with my history in print, I shall not trouble you much at present, as in it, you will see my reasons for deserting, and for first becoming one of the Battalion of Testimony; on mature reflection I am confident you must say — to yourself, I have acted right. I shall not pretend to say I am beyond your power, but should you ever arrest me, you will find my heart was never afraid to end the project I had once began. You will know, not a friendship for Government, but my affection for the Murdoch family, was my reason for becoming an Informer; that attachment having ceased, the tie that

bound me to you was no more, and I am again what I then was. Connected with Murdoch, I was a villain, but unconnected with him cease to be so.

"I think you will now be tired of the business of information, and I assure you you will shortly have no occasion for it. Think how disgraceful must appear such connections and support, when even spies and informers scorn and fly their association, and throw themselves on the forgiveness of their injured country, for being awhile connected with such miscreants. I hope you will now acquit me of the charge of want of feeling. I return you thanks for the numberless favours you have conferred on me, and assure you that I would not exchange one single hour of my present happines for ten thousand times the sums you have already lavished on me. I have no occasion now for pistols: the propriety of my present behaviour is guard enough; the forgiveness of my country rewards it; every honest man is my friend, and for the other part of the community, their esteem is a disgrace. My bosom is what it has not been this long time, the seat of contentment; and I thank my God for having saved me from impending ruin.

"E. J. NEWELL."

A communication being now opened between Mrs. Murdoch and me, she agreed and accomplished an elopement, and after living with me for twelve days, I found it necessary to quit the kingdom; and in order to get rid of her I informed Murdoch where she was, who all this time with George had been scouring the country in quest of her, and accordingly this pot-val-

iant hero attended, and carried her home with every joy and forgiveness.

Having now submitted to the public, in my own illiterate stile, this production, the impartiality and truth of which my letters of correspondence (seized by Alderman Exshaw, and deposited in the Castle) will best show: and, if this voluntary publication of my own infamy, and proclaiming to the world the conduct of a desperate and wicked junto, can in any degree make a restitution for the perjuries and crimes I have committed, my object is fully answered; and with every respect for that public, to which I have been so great a traitor, I subscribe myself

The public's most obedient servant,

E. J. NEWELL.

APPENDIX X

LIST OF THE NAMES OF PERSONS INCLUDED IN THE FUGITIVE BILL, AND BANISHMENT ACT, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED. COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

Fugitive Bill.

Adair, ——

Bashford, Thomas Gunning
Burke, William
Burke, James
Bryson, Andrew

Campbell, Wm. (alias M'Keevers)
Cooke, Patrick
Cormick, John
Cullen, William

Delany, Michael
Derry, Valentine
Dixon, Thomas
Duckett, ——
Duignan, Miles

Egan, Cornelius

Fitzpatrick, Michael

Holt, Joseph
Houston, Thomas
Hull, James

Jackson, John
Jackson, James

Kelly, James
Kenna, Matthew
Keogh, Bryan

Lewins, Edward John
Lawless, William
Lowry, Alexander

M'Can, Anthony

M'Cormick, Richard
M'Guire, John
M'Mahon, Arthur
Miles, Matthew
Morres, Harvey
Mouritz, Joseph, or Joshua

Neale, James
Nervin, John

O'Brien, John
O'Finn, Edward
Orr, Joseph
Orr, Robert

Plunkett, James

Reynolds, Michael

Swift, Deane
Scully, John
Short, Miles
Short, Owen

Tandy, James Napper
Teeling, Bartholomew
Tone, Theobald Wolfe
Townsend, James
Turner, Samuel

BANISHMENT ACT.

Andoe, Thomas
Astley, Alexander
Aylmer, William

Boyle, Edward
Brady, Thomas
Bushe, James M.
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Garret
Banks, Henry
Bannen, Peter
Barrett, John

Carthy, Denis
Castles, John

Chambers, John
Comyn, John
Cormick, Joseph
Corcoran, Peter
Cuff, Farrell
Cumming, George
Cuthbert, Joseph

Daly, Richard
Davis, Joseph
Dillon, Richard
Devine, Patrick
Dorney, John
Dowling, Matthew
Doyle, Michael
Dry, Thomas

Emmet, Thomas Addis
Evans, Hampden

Farrell, Andrew
Farrell, Denis
Fitzgerald, Edward
Flood, Michael

Geraghty, James
Goodman, Robert
Goodman, Rowland
Greene, John
Griffin, Lawrence

Haffey, James
Hanlon, Patrick
Harrison, John
Houston, William
Hudson, Edward

Ivers, Peter

Jackson, Henry

Kavanagh, Morgan
Keane, Edward Crookshank
Keenan, John
Kelly, Lawrence
Kennedy, John
Kennedy, John Gorman
Kinkead, John
Kinselagh, John

Lacy, John
Lube, George
Lynch, John
Lynch, Patrick

M'Cabe, William Putnam
M'Dermott, Bryan
Mac Neven, William James
Macan, Patrick
Martin, Christopher
Madden, Patrick
Meagher, Francis
Milliken, Israel
Mowney, Patrick
Mulhall, Michael

Neilson, Samuel
Neilson, Robert

O'Conner, Arthur
O'Reilly, Richard

Quigley, Michael

Redfern, Robert
Reily, John
Reynolds, Thomas
Rose, James
Russell, Thomas

Sweetman, John

Smyth, James
Sampson, William
Speers, Henry
Swing, John

Tierman, James

Toland, Daniel

Ware, Hugh
Wilson, Hugh

Young, John

APPENDIX XI

RELIGION PROFESSED BY PERSONS OF EMINENCE, OR LEADING MEMBERS OF THE UNITED IRISH SOCIETY

[The names in brackets are of the state prisoners who had been in Fort George.]

PROTESTANTS.	PRESBYTERIANS.	CATHOLICS.
Thomas A. Emmett, Bar.	William Tennant, M.D.	W. J. M'Neven, M.D.
Arthur O'Connor, Bar.	Robert Simms,	John Sweeny,
Roger O'Connor, Bar.	Samuel Neilson,	Joseph McCormick,
Thomas Russell,	George Cumming,	John Sweetman,
John Chambers,	Joseph Cuthbert,	
Matthew Dowling,	Rev. W. Steele Dickson,	
Edward Hudson,		
Hugh Wilson,		
William Dowdall,		
Robert Hunter,		
Hon. Simon Butler, Bar.	William Drennan, M.D.	Peter Finnerty,
A. H. Rowan,	[1] William Orr,	[1] William Michael Byrne,
James Napper Tandy,	Samuel Orr,	[1] John M'Cann,
Lord Edward Fitzgerald,	William Putman M'Cabe,	[1] J. Esmond, M.D.
[1] Henry Sheares, Bar.	[1] Henry Monroe,	William Lawless,
[1] John Sheares, Bar.	[1] James Dickey, Attor.	Edward John Lewins,
Oliver Bond,	Henry Haslett,	[1] William Byrne,
[2] B. B. Harvey,	William Sampson, Bar.	[1] Walter Devereux,
John Russell,	[1] Henry Joy M'Cracken,	John Devereux (the Gen. Devereux),
T. W. Tone, Bar.	William Sinclair,	Garret Byrne,
[1] Bartholomew Tone,	J. Sinclair,	[1] Esmond Kyan,
Thomas Wright, M.D.	Robert M'Gee, M.D.	Charles Teeling,
Wm. Levingston Webb,	Israel Milliken,	Bartholomew Teeling,
William Hamilton,	Gilbert M'Ilvain, jun.	Richard M'Cormick,
Matthew Dowling, Attor.	Robert Byers,	Thomas Doorley,
Richard Kirwan,[2]	[1] Henry Byers,	[1] Felix Rourke,
James Reynolds, M.D.	S. Kennedy,	Bernard Mahon,
Deane Swift, Bar.	Robert Hunter,	John Sweetman,
[1] Matthew Keogh,	Robert Orr,	Edward Fitzgerald (Wexford),
Thomas Corbett,	Hugh Grimes,	William Aylmer,
William Corbett,	William Kean,	[1] S. Barret,
William Weir,	James Burnside,	Ferdinandt O'Donnell,
John Allen,	James Greer,	[1] Colonel O'Doude,
Thomas Bacon,	Rowley Osborne,	[1] John Kelly,
Robert Emmet,	Mr. Turner,	Thomas Cloney,
Joseph Holt,	William Simms,	
Henry Jackson,	John Rabb,	

[1] Executed.

[2] The eminent chemist and mineralogist, on the authority of Dr. M'Neven, was sworn by him Dr. M'N.

PROTESTANTS.	PRESBYTERIANS.	CATHOLICS.
Dr. M'Donnell (Belfast), Whitly Stokes, F.T.C.D. James Johnston, M.D.[2] Edwd Lysaght, Bar. William Humphreys, Lord Cloncurry (the late), Lord Wycombe, Colonel Lumm, John Pollock, Hampden Evans, Thos. Cumming Bashford, Samuel Turner,	James Hope, —— Jordan, John Hughes, William Dunne, Thomas Houston, junr. John Story, Dr. Alex. Crawford, Adam Maclean, —— M'Tier, —— M'Leery, —— M'Aughtrey, Robert Neilson,	[1] John Clinch, James Farrell, Michael Dwyer, [1] Harvey Hay, James Plunkett, Richard Dease, M.D. John Keogh (Mt. Jerome), John Byrne Madden, Cornelius M'Loughlin, Henry O'Hara, Christopher Teeling, M.D. W. Murphy, N. P. O'Gorman.

PRESBYTERIANS.	CATHOLICS.
[1] Rev. Mr. Warwick, Rev. W. Steele Dickson, [1] Rev. William Porter, Rev. Samuel Barber, Rev. Arthur Mahon, Rev. Mr. Birch, Rev. Mr. Ward, Rev. Mr. Smith, Rev. Mr. Sinclair, [1] Rev. Mr. Stevelly, Rev. Mr. M'Neill, Rev. Mr. Simpson, Rev. Sinclair Kelburne.	[1] Rev. Moses Kearns, [1] Rev. John Murphy, Rev. Michael Murphy, Rev. Mr. Kavanagh, [1] Rev. Mr. Redmond, Rev. Mr. Stafford, [1] Rev. P. Roche, Rev. H. O'Keon, [1] Rev. Mr. Prendergast, Rev. Mr. Harold, [1] Rev. J. Quigley, Rev. Denis Taafe, Rev. John Barrett, Rev. James M. Bushe.

There never was a greater mistake than to call the attempted revolution of 1798 "a Popish rebellion." Alike in its origin and organization, it was preëminently a Protestant one.

Neither the "Popish religion," nor the Celtic race of Ireland, can lay any claim to the great majority of the founders and organizers of the Society of United Irishmen. Strange to say, for their origin we must go back to the records of the seizures and confiscations of the properties of the old inhabitants of

[1] Executed.

[2] The late eminent medical practitioner, Physician Extraordinary to William the Fourth, Dr. Johnston, of Suffolk Street, London, on his own authority I can state was an active member of the United Irishmen's Society of Belfast, in which town he had settled in 1798.

Ireland, and the apportionment of the spoil among the English adventurers who came over on the first expedition of the Earl of Pembroke, or in the train of the succeeding marauders, or who were brought over by Oliver Cromwell, and were left behind to plant English civility and true religion in this colony. But many of the English lords of the Pale so far forgot their mission, it appears, as to become *Hiberniores quam Hibernis ipsis*, and several of their descendents were founders of Roman Catholic families in Ireland — viz., the Aylmers, Plunkets, Bellews, Daltons, Delamars, Prestons, Barnwalls, Nettervilles, Walshes, etc. But what is more germane to my subject, a very large number of those early English colonists and lords of the English Pale, who came into possession of the confiscated estates of the old Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, were the ancestors to the founders and organizers of the society of United Irishmen, whose main object was the separation of Ireland from England.

The following list of names is sufficiently confirmatory of the preceding statement: — Fitzgerald, Roche, Plunket, Dillon, Allen, Barret, Rowan, Sampson, Taaffe, Dowdall, Hudson, Hunter, Monroe, M'Cracken, Harold, Sheares, Hamilton, Emmet, Bond, Chambers, Perry, Tone, Swift, Drennan, Simms, Tennant, Sweetman, Devereux, Ryan, Hay, Orr, Sinclair, Tandy, Harvey, Kernan, Reynolds, Weir, Jackson, M'Donnell, Harvey, Morres.

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CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF IRISH HISTORY

FROM LEGENDARY DAYS TO THE EARLY PART OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Tabulated by Horace S. Meese.

THERE is little but conjecture as to the earliest inhabitants of Ireland, known at the time of the Milesian invasion as Inis Ealga (The Noble Isle). The Phœnicians certainly had an extensive trade with the inhabitants, but as to their manners and customs all is lost in obscurity. There seems, however, to have been a marked difference between the Firbolgs, the pastoral inhabitants, and the Tuatha-da-Danaans, the traders.

The Milesian colonists reached Ireland from Spain, but were an Eastern people who bore the "Sacred Banner of the Milesians," a flag on which was represented a dead serpent and the rod of Moses. This emblem was selected after the miraculous curing of young Gadelius, son of Niul, son of the king of Scythia, by Moses while the Israelites were in the wilderness. After the healing of the youth, who had been bitten by a poisonous serpent, the man of God prophesied that the posterity of the prince should inhabit a country where no venomous reptile could live, an island they should seek and find in the track of the setting sun.

The search for this promised land led the people of Gadelius across the wide expanse of southern Europe, tarrying in Spain long enough to build the city of Brigantia. Finally, the third generation after Gadelius, Ith, an uncle of Milesius, in cruising along the Northern coast sighted the "Promised Isle," and on landing to explore it was attacked by the inhabitants, wounded and died while being conveyed homeward. The entire Milesian host joined in the invasion of Ireland to avenge the death of Ith and also to occupy the land promised them, "the isle they had seen in their dreams."

The following chronology has been prepared after a careful comparison of the available data and where conflicting years were given the one used herein is that sustained by the majority of Irish historians. The most complete record previously published was prepared by Thomas Davis for "The Nation," and in general this has been followed, although many additions and changes have been made, by which it has been endeavored to make it more complete and instructive.

	B. C.
Partholani landed in Ireland	2048
Descent of the Damonii	1463
Settlement of Ireland by the Sons of Milesius	1400
Establishment of the Feis Tara or Triennial Parliament of Tara by Ollamh Fodhla, or Ollav Folla	1000
Thirty-two kings are said to have reigned between Ollamh Fodhla and Kimbaoth, whose sway terminated about	300
(The Palace of Emania was built during Kimbaoth's reign.)	

A. D.

Conquovar, King of Ulster, reforms the Bardic or Literary Order 40
(The reign of this monarch, variously known as Conquovar, Conchobhar, or Conor Mac Nessa, embraces the great Conorian cycle of Irish legendary history. The heroic characters, Cuchullin, Fergus, Queen Maev, Deirdre, etc., were of this period.)
Revolt Against the Milesians by the Firbolgs and Tuatha-da-Danaans 90
Recall of the Milesian Princes from Albion by Moran 125
Re-establishment of the Milesian sway..... 130
Irish settlements founded in Scotland by Carbri Riada 150
King Feidlim, the Legislator, establishes the "Laws of Eric" 164
Christianity first known in Ireland..... 200
Establishment of the Irish Legal Code and Chronicles at Tara by Ard-ri Cormac I.....250–266
The period just following marks the Zenith of the Fenian organization (the Fianna Eirion) under Finn Mac Cumhal, Ossian, Oscar, etc., which was finally destroyed at Gaura by the army under Carbri the Second..... 280
The Palace of Emania destroyed during a civil war 333
Birth of St. Patrick..... 387
Invasion of Britain by Nial of the Nine Hostages 396
Landing of St. Patrick in Ireland..... 432
Dathi, the last of Ireland's Pagan monarchs,

killed at the foot of the Alps while on a military expedition 436
Establishment of Christianity 448
Death of St. Patrick .....Mar. 17, 493
According to some Historians the year is given as 465
Last Triennial council held at Tarra.....554 or 556
Great convention of Drumceat..... 573
Raiding of the Irish coast by King Ecgfrith of Northumbria 684
Invasions by the Danes and Normans.....775–795
Founding of Dublin..... 800
Establishments of other settlements by the Danes 800–840
Victory of Brian Boru over the Danes at Clontarf, Good Friday, April 23rd..... 1014
Synod of Kells; supremacy of the Church of Rome acknowledged 1152
Sovereignty of Ireland granted by Henry II by Papal Bull of Adrian IV.....1154 or 1159
Dermond M'Murrough, King of Leinster, driven from his throne..... 1166
Strongbow lands at Waterford.....May, 1169
Death of Dermond..... 1171
Landing of Henry II near Waterford; submission of the princes accepted.....Oct. 18, 1171
First Parliament or Council held by Henry II at Lismore 1172
Prince John sent as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.. 1185
English settlers adopt Irish names, manners and clothing 1200
Ireland temporarily subdued by King John..... 1210

Magna Charta granted to Ireland by Henry III.. 1216
Sovereignty of Ireland granted under certain conditions to Prince Edward by Henry III... 1254
Irish petition Edward I for an extension of English laws and usages to them..... 1277
Kilkenny Parliament held by Sir John Wogan, Lord Justice 1295
Second Parliament at Kilkenny; the enactments of this session, under Sir John Wogan, are known as Bolton's Irish Statutes..... 1309
Edward Bruce invades Ireland, landing at Antrim, May 25 1315
Crowned King of Ireland near Dundalk..... 1316
Defeat and Death of Bruce at Foughart (Faghard), near Dundalk, ...Oct. 14, 1318
Irish Parliament meets at Kilkenny to protest against decree of Edward III to allow none to hold official position in Ireland unless absolutely free from family or financial interest in that country; Nov..... 1342
Lionel, Duke of. Clarence, third son of Edward III, sent as Lord Lieutenant..... 1360
Lionel marries Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter of the King of Ulster..... 1361
Kilkenny Parliament assembled by Lionel and celebrated anti-Irish statute passed prohibiting adoption of Irish costume or customs and intermarriage with the Irish to the Anglo-Irish of the Pale..... 1367
Uprising against English restrictions culminating in the battle of Limerick..... 1369
First act against absentees passed..... 1379

Richard II lands at Waterford with many nobles, four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers; knighthood conferred on many chiefs 1394
Second landing of Richard in Ireland..... 1399
Colleges at Youghal and Drogheda founded by the Earl of Desmond, Lord Deputy..... 1468
Sanguinary head act passed at Trim by the Earl of Desmond 1465
Irish ordered to dress like the English and adopt surnames (Apparell and surname act)..... 1465
Institution of the Brotherhood of St. George for the protection of the Pale..... 1472
Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck supported by the Irish..... 1487
Sir Edward Poyning made Lord Deputy by Henry VII 1493
"Poyning's Law" passed, subjecting the Irish Parliament's acts to the supervision of the English Council 1494
Great Rebellion of the Geraldines..... 1534
First step of the Reformation in Ireland..... 1534
Henry VIII's supremacy enacted by statute.... 1536
Suppression of religious houses ordered by law.. 1537
Henry VIII asumes title of King instead of Lord of Ireland 1542
Revolt of John O'Neill the Proud..... 1567
Ireland finally divided into shires..... 1569
Printing in Irish characters introduced by N. Walsh, Chancellor of St. Patrick's..... 1571
Massacre of Mulaghmast..... 1577
Organization of the Geraldine League and last

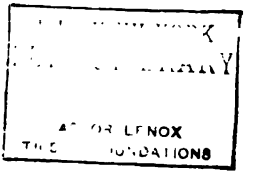
Earl of Desmond proclaimed traitor..... 1579
Seven hundred Italians, headed by Fitzmaurice, land in Kerry and are treacherously butchered by the Earl of Ormond..... 1580
Earl of Desmond assassinated..... 1583
Attainder of Desmond's followers; forfeiture of his estates — 574,682 Irish acres — and institution of the plantation system by Elizabeth 1586
Escape of Aodh O'Donnell (Hugh Roe) from Dublin Castle .....Dec. 25, 1592
University of Dublin founded..... 1592
Revolt of Hugh O'Neill..... 1595
Defeat of the English at Blackwater...Aug. 14, 1598
Spaniards settle at Kinsale..... 1601
Defeat of O'Donnell and O'Neill at Kinsale by Lord Deputy Mountjoy..... 1602
O'Donnell poisoned at Simancas, Spain, by contrivance of Carew, President of Munster .....September, 1602
Submission of O'Neill (Tyrone) to Mountjoy .....Mar. 30, 1603
Flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnell and seizure of six entire counties (Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, now Donegal) amounting to 511,456 Irish acres. 1607
Sir Cathair O'Dougherty's rising.....May 1, 1608
Creation of 14 peers and 40 new boroughs and assembling of a Parliament to support the new plantation of Ulster by attainder and outlawry of the inhabitants.....May 18, 1613

Lands of Ulster divided among Scottish and English settlers by James I..... 1613
Commission for inquiry into defective titles.... 1616
Lord Wentworth's oppressive proceedings to find title in the Crown to the province of Connaught 1635
Ulster Civil War; More and Maguire's rebellion; Catholics said to be conspiring to expel the English and massacre the Protestant settlers in Ulster; commenced on St. Ignatius' Day; (some doubt the massacre).....Oct. 23, 1641
The confederated Catholics form a general assembly and supreme council at Kilkenny "Pro Deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia, unanimes—" their motto 1642
Owen Roe O'Neill defeats the English under Monroe at Benburb, near Armagh.....June 5, 1646
Revolt ended by treaty.....Jan. 17, 1649
Cromwell arrives in Dublin.....Aug. 15, 1649
Siege, storming and massacre of Drogheda.... .....Sept. 2–15, 1649
Siege and massacre of Wexford.....Oct. 1, 1649
Death of Owen Roe O'Neill at Cloch-Nachdar Castle, County Cavan .....Nov. 6, 1649
Cromwell returns to England.....May 29, 1650
Irish war proclaimed ended by act of Parliament .....Sept. 26, 1653
Act of Grace, ordering Irish Catholics to retire to Connaught on pain of death—"To Hell or Connaught,—" before Mar. 1..... 1654
Acts of settlement and explanation.....May 8, 1661

7,800,000 acres confiscated and distributed..... 1666
James II lands at Kinsale.....Mar. 12, 1689
Irish Parliament summoned .....May 7, 1689
Three thousand Protestants attained.....July, 1689
William III lands at Carrickfergus....June 14, 1690
Battle of the Boyne, James Defeated....July 1, 1690
Siege of Limerick under William III raised by Sarsfield .....Aug. 30, 1690
Athlone taken after a gallant defence..June 30, 1691
Battle of Aughrim.....July 12, 1691
Capitulation and treaty of Limerick....Oct. 3, 1691
Treaty confirmed by William III.....April 5, 1692
Violation of the treaty of Limerick — 7 William III, c. 67 — Catholic education at home and abroad prohibited .....Aug. 1695
Banishment of Catholic archbishops, bishops, vicars-general and all regular clergy on pain of death — 9 William III, c. 1..... 1697
Molyneux published his famous "Case of Ireland being bound by acts of Parliament passed in England" 1698
Petition of the Irish House of Commons for legislative independence or union..... 1703
"Act to Prevent the further growth of Popery" passed .....Mar. 4, 1704
English Parliament passes act to secure the dependency of Ireland, 6 Geo. I..... 1720
Wood's half-pence patent granted and unanimous opposition by all Irish sects and parties; the first time all the elements of Irish patriotism worked in harmony 1724

Major Henry Charles Sirr

Town Mayor of Dublin. The Fouché of the Irish Rebellion. From the Only Known Portrait in Existence, in the Possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet


ASTOR LENOX
THE FOUNDATIONS

Roman Catholics disfranchised 1 Geo. II, c. 9, s. 8 1728
Irish gentry transfer the burden of the tithe of agistment to the farmers and peasantry.... 1737
Dr. Lucas becomes prominent in Dublin..... 1748
Battle of Fontenoy.....April 30, 1745
Dr. Lucas driven from Ireland..... 1749
House of Commons successfully asserts its control over surplus revenue, in opposition to Government .....Dec. 17, 1753
First public effort by O'Connor and Curry to instill a spirit of freedom into the Irish people regardless of religion..... 1756
Thurot's invasion; small French naval force plunders Carrickfergus .....Feb. 1760
Wyse and Curry organize the Catholic Committee.....Mar. & Apr., 1760
Dr. Lucas sent to the first parliament of George III, as representative of the city of Dublin 1761
Oak Boy movement 1761–2
Establishment of the "Freeman's Journal" by Dr. Lucas — the first independent Irish newspaper 1763
Duration of Parliament limited to eight years... 1768
Hearts of Steel organized..... 1771
First relaxation of the Penal Code. Catholics allowed long tenures of land, etc..... 1778
Formation of "The Volunteers"..... 1778
Ireland admitted to free trade..... 1779
Peep-o'-day Boys activities..... 1780

Legislative independence won; Poyning's law repealed 1782
Genevese refugees received in Ireland and asylum given them in Waterford..... 1783
Order of St. Patrick established..... 1783
Debates upon the Regency question..... 1789
Society of United Irishmen founded by Theobald Wolfe Tone 1790
Reorganization of the Catholic Committee and secession from that body of most of its peers and prelates 1791
Franchise restored to the Catholics, the Bar opened to them, etc. (Far the greatest step towards Catholic emancipation ever made at one time.)..... 1792–3
First Orange Lodge formed.....Sept. 21, 1795
Remnant of French expedition without Hoche, its commander, reaches Bantry Bay...Dec. 24, 1796
Irish rebellion commenced.....May 23, 1798
Battle of Vinegar Hill.....June 21, 1798
Landing of first English troops at Dublin.....
.....June 22, 1798
General Humbert lands with a small force at Killala .....Aug. 22, 1798
The Union proposed.....Jan. 22, 1799
Debate on the Union in English House of Commons; wholesale bribery defended as necessary to lead Irish members into the line of duty .....Feb. 7, 1799
Parliament prorogued, Government having been defeated by small majorities.....June 1, 1799

House of Lords divides, 75 for and 26 against the union ..... Feb. 10, 1800
House of Commons (60 new members since prorogation) divides, 158 for and 115 against the Union ..... Feb. 15, 1800
Commons sets Jan. 1, 1801, as the date for the commencement of the Union..... Mar. 17, 1800
Emmet Insurrection ..... July 23, 1803
Robert Emmet executed at Dublin for high treason ..... Sept. 20, 1803
Emancipation question comes up in Parliament.. 1808
Great Repeal meeting in Dublin..... 1810
Emancipation measure lost..... 1813
George IV in Ireland..... 1821
Catholic Association formed..... 1823
Act passed to put down the Catholic Association. 1825
Emancipation granted ..... Apr. 13, 1829
Education Board formed..... 1831
Coercion bill passed..... 1833
Reform of the tithe laws, converting tithes into fixed rent charge payable by landlords..... 1839
Repeal Association formed by O'Connell..... 1840
Establishment of "The Nation"..... Oct. 15, 1842
Repeal leaders imprisoned..... May 30, 1844
Liberation of Repeal leaders..... Sept. 7, 1844
Potato Crop fails in Ireland..... 1846
Death of O'Connell at Genoa, on his way to Rome, in his 73d year; he bequeathed his heart to Rome ..... May 15, 1847
Habeas Corpus act suspended..... July 26, 1848
O'Brien's rebellion suppressed..... July 29, 1848
Great emigration to America..... Spring, 1860

Appearance of the Fenians.....Jan., 1864
Fenians' trial begun at Dublin, 27 Nov.; Thomas Clarke Luby sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude .....Dec. 1, 1865
O'Leary and others convicted Dec.; O'Donovan Rossa sentenced to imprisonment for life.. .....Dec. 13, 1865
Habeas Corpus act suspended; many Fenians flee .....Feb. 17, 1866
Declaration of Catholic clergy professing loyalty, but claiming self-government for Ireland.. .....Dec. 23, 1867
Habeas Corpus act suspended till Mch. 1, 1869 (83 persons detained on suspicion).....Feb. 1868
Four nights' debate on Ireland in Commons ended (Gladstone declared for disestablishment of Irish Protestant Church).....Mch. 16, 1868
Irish Reform bill introduced into the Commons.. .....Mch. 19, 1868
Debate on committee on establishment (carried, 328–272), 30 Mch. to early morning of.... .....Apr. 4, 1868
Mr. Gladstone's first resolution passed in Commons (by 330–265) early on 1 May; second and third resolutions.....May 7, 1868
Irish Church bill introduced in Commons, 1 Mch.; after much opposition passed.....July 26, 1869
Irish mixed schools denounced by Archbishop Cullen; support for a Catholic university demanded in a circular dated.....Aug. 18, 1869
Irish Land act passed.....Aug. 16, 1870
Mr. Gladstone brings into the Commons the Irish

University bill (rejected and withdrawn)..... Feb. 13, 1874

Motions for Home Rule defeated..... Mar. 20 and July 3, 1874

Catholic Synod at Maynooth; mixed education censured ..... Sept. 1875

Bill to abolish the Queen's university, and to establish a new university (for Roman Catholics), introduced by Lord Chancellor Cairns, 30 June; carried in Commons (257–90), 25 July; passed ..... Aug. 15, 1879

Irish National Convention at Dublin proposed by Mr. Parnell (Home Rule)..... Sept. 11, 1879

Appeal for Irish National Land League by Mr. Parnell; subscriptions to buy land for tenants ..... Oct. 9, 1879

Mr. Parnell arrives at New York to agitate for help to relieve Ireland politically and pecuniarily ..... Jan. 2, 1880

Contributions to famine funds arrive from Canada, Australia, India, U. S., etc..... Jan. & Feb., 1880

Charter for new Irish University signed by Queen Victoria ..... Apr. 19, 1880

Relief for Irish distress brought in the *Constellation* from U. S.; arrives at Cork.. Apr. 20, 1880

Mr. Parnell proposes that tenant become owner of land after paying 35 years' just rent.. Sept. 1880

Parnell and others arrested for conspiracy and intimidation to prevent tenants paying rent, etc. (19 counts); notices served, 3 Nov. et seq 1880

Mr. Boycott of Lough Mask farm, near Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo, boycotted.....Nov. 11, 1880

Parnell and others tried for conspiracy (Trials).....Dec. 28, 1880

Jury disagrees; discharged.....Jan. 22, 1881

Report of agricultural commission (for Ireland) issued; great distress, 1877–79; good harvest, 1880; recommends emigration in some districts .....Jan. 1881

Bill for protection of life and property brought in by Mr. Forster, 24 Jan.; long debates; much obstruction (Parliament); passed Commons (281–86), 25, 26 Feb.; passed Lords, 1–3 Mch.; royal assent.....Mch. 3, 1881

Many agitators arrested; 23 in Kilmainham jail .....Mch. 10, 1881

Peace Preservation bill (Arms Bill); introduced 1 Mch.; passed Commons, 11, 12 Mch.; passed Lords, 18 Mch.; royal assen.Mch. 21, 1881

"Clan-na-Gael" secret society to replace Fenians said to be formed.....Mar. 1881

Irish Land bill introduced in the Commons by Mr. Gladstone .....Apr. 7, 1881

Land bill in House of Lords; read second time, 2, 3, Aug.; third time (with amendment), 8 Aug.; Commons reject some amendments, 12 Aug.; Lords resist, 13 Aug.; Commons modify amendments, 15 Aug.; Lords yield, 16 Aug.; royal assent.....Aug. 22, 1881

Mr. Parnell arrested for inciting to intimidation and non-payment of rent; put into Kilmainham jail, Dublin.....Oct. 13, 1881

Land League, denouncing government and ordering non-payment of rent.....Oct. 18, 1881

Lord Lieutenant proclaims suppression of Land League as illegal and criminal, 20 Oct.; leaders declare for passive resistance; Archbishop McCabe's pastoral against Land League manifesto read in Roman Catholic Churches in Dublin.....Oct. 30, 1881

Home-rule meeting at Dublin.....Nov. 8, 1881

Above 40,000 applications to the land courts .....Nov. 12, 1881

Committee to inquire into workings of Land act voted by Lords (96–53, 17 Feb.); Earl Cairns, chairman .....Feb. 23, 1882

Mr. Gladstone's resolution against the Lords committee, 27 Feb.; carried (303–235) .....Mar. 9 and 10, 1882

Mr. Forster confesses failure of government policy through influence of secret societies .....Mar. 27, 1882

Mr. Parnell released on parole for 10 days .....Apr. 10, 1882

New government policy; resignation of W. E. Forster; release of Mr. Parnell and other suspects; Earl Spencer, lord lieutenant about 2 May, 1882; release of Michael Davitt .....May 5, 1882

Earl Spencer enters Dublin; Lord Frederick Cavendish, new chief secretary, and T. H. Burke, permanent under-secretary, assassinated by stabbing, by 4 men, about 7 P. M.

in Phœnix Park, Dublin, 6 May; manifesto expressing abhorrence of the deed signed by C. S. Parnell, J. Dillon and M. Davitt .....May 7, 1882

Government offers £10,000 reward for the murderers; G. O. Trevelyan appointed chief secretary .....May 9, 1882

Bill for prevention of crime in Ireland introduced by Sir W. V. Harcourt (new tribunal of 3 judges without jury, for special occasions; powers of police increased; Alien act revived; supervision of newspapers, of assemblies, etc., 11 May, 1882; second reading (383–45) .....19 and 20 May, 1882

Arrears bill passed in Commons (285–177), 21 July; by Lords, with amendments (169–98), 31 July; which are modified or negatived by the Commons, 8, 9 Aug.; revision accepted by the Lords, 10 Aug.; royal assent .....Aug. 18, 1882

Expiration of Coercion act; suspects released .....Sept. 30, 1882

Nationalist conference at Dublin forms new Irish National League (ultra) for self-government and land-law reform.....Oct. 17, 1882

Emigration from Ireland; 89,566 in..... 1883

Irish National League, first meeting.....Feb. 7, 1883

Phœnix Park murders; Robert Farrell, James Carey, and others, informers; trial of Joseph Brady, convicted, 11–13 Apr.; Timothy Kelly, third trial, 7–9 May; Thomas Caffrey pleads guilty, 2 May; Patrick Delany and

Daniel Curley, 16–18 Apr.; Michael Fagan ..... 25–27 Apr., 1883

Irish Convention at Philadelphia... 25–27 Apr., 1883

James Carey, informer, shot dead by Patrick O'Donnell, on board the *Melrose Castle*, near Port Elizabeth, South Africa. July 29, 1883

Thirty-eight thousand pounds presented to Mr. Parnell ("as a national tribute" from the Irish people) at a banquet at the Rotunda, Dublin ..... Dec. 11, 1883

Parnellite Land Law Amendment bill rejected by Commons (as tending to confiscation), by 235–72 ..... Mch. 5, 1884

Wm. O'Brien arrested at Manchester.. Jan. 29, 1889

(Taken to Ireland and confined in Clonmel jail, 30 Jan.; refusing to wear the prison garb, is roughly treated.)

Gladstone and Parnell speak on the Morley amendment to the reply to the Queen's speech (Amendment defeated) ..... Mch. 1, 1889

Pigott, forger of Parnell letter, commits suicide at Madrid ..... Mch. 1, 1889

Sir Charles Russell defends the Parnellites before the commission, tracing the history of agitation for home-rule ..... Mch. 18, 1889

Freedom of city of Edinburgh conferred on Parnell by a vote of 14–13..... Apr. 23, 1889

Wm. O'Brien again arrested with John Dillon for advising tenants not to pay rent ..... Sept. 17, 1890

They escape, reach France, 10 Oct.; sail for U. S. ..... Oct. 25, 1890

John Dillon and O'Brien convicted and sentenced to 6 months in jail.....Nov. 19, 1890
Parnell notifies his colleagues that he will not resign leadership while supported by the Irish people .....Nov. 20, 1890
Parnell elected unanimously to the leadership of the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament .....Nov. 25, 1890
Gladstone denies the statement made concerning him by Parnell .....Nov. 29, 1890
Justin McCarthy and 44 others withdraw from the meeting of Nationalist members of Parliament and organize as a separate body .....Dec. 6, 1890
Parnell leaves London for Ireland, 7 Dec.; enthusiastically received at Dublin, 7 Dec.; seizes the office of "United Ireland" and ejects the acting editor.....Dec. 10, 1890
Sir John Pope Hennessy, the McCarthy candidate, elected at the Kilkenny elections by 1,171 votes over Vincent Scully, the Parnellite .....Dec. 22, 1890
Dillon and O'Brien land at Folkestone and deliver themselves up to the English police.Feb. 12, 1891
They are taken to Ireland and placed in Clonmel jail .....Feb. 13, 1891
National Federal Convention meets at Dublin, Justin McCarthy presiding.....Mch. 10, 1891
Wm. O'Brien and John Dillon released from jail .....July 30, 1891
Parnell dies at his home at Brighton, England .....Oct. 7, 1891

Parnell buried at Dublin.....Oct. 11, 1891
Remond's Home Rule amendment defeated in the House of Commons, 179 to 158...Feb. 15, 1892
Irish Local Government Bill introduced by A. J. Balfour in House of Commons....Feb. 18, 1892
Irish National Educational Bill introduced by Chief Secretary Jackson in House of Commons .....Feb. 22, 1892
Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland denounce Irish Education Bill in Lenten sermons .....Feb. 29, 1892
"Freeman's Journal" and "National Press" appear under joint management.....April 1, 1892
Local Government Bill passed second Reading in House of Commons, 339 to 247...May 24, 1892
National Education Bill passed second Reading in House of Commons .....May 30, 1892
Ulster convention of Irish Protestants opened at Belfast ..... June 17, 1892
Tercentenary of Trinity College, Dublin, opened ..... July 5, 1892
Gladstone directed by Queen to form a new cabinet .....Aug. 15, 1892
Crimes Act suspended throughout Ireland and proclamation against "National League" revoked .....Sept. 14, 1892
Lord Houghton, new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, officially entered Dublin and Address of Welcome refused by the Dublin Corporation .....Oct. 3, 1892
Evicted Tenants' Commission met at Dublin ..... Nov. 7, 1892

Michael Davitt unseated as M. P. for North Meath ..... Dec. 23, 1892

Violent dynamite explosion wrecked large portion of Dublin Detective Office..... Dec. 24, 1892

Annual convention of Irish landowners passed resolutions protesting against Home Rule ..... Jan. 26, 1893

Irish Home Rule Bill after four days' debate brought in and read in House of Commons for first time ..... Feb. 17, 1893

Irish Agricultural Association held its inaugural meeting in Dublin ..... Feb. 21, 1893

Irish National League at New York issued manifesto denouncing the Home Rule Bill ..... Feb. 21, 1893

Mass meeting of Ulster Protestants and Orangemen assembled in Belfast and sworn to resist Home Rule Bill by all lawful means ..... Mar. 2, 1893

Banquet at Cooper Union, New York, presided over by Gen. O'Beirne, to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Robert Emmet ..... Mar. 7, 1893

Nationalist Convention at Dublin endorses the Irish Home Rule Bill as satisfactory in the main ..... Mar. 8, 1893

Demonstration against Home Rule in Dublin ..... Mar. 15, 1893

Vote of censure on the Government's Irish policy defeated in the House of Commons 319 to 272 ..... Mar. 27, 1893

Demonstration against Home Rule Bill at Bel-

fast, with 120,000 paraders and 500,000 spectators .....Apr. 4, 1893

Unionist demonstration at Dublin against Home Rule Bill .....Apr. 8, 1893

Lord Mayor of Dublin, accompanied by the sheriff and aldermen in state, presents petition at bar of House of Commons in favor of Home Rule .....Apr. 17, 1893

After twelve days' debate Irish Home Rule Bill passed by House of Commons on second reading by 347 to 304.....Apr. 21, 1893

Anti-Home Rule demonstration at Albert Hall attended by 1,200 delegates from Ireland ..... Apr. 22, 1893

Hand-thrown bomb exploded in Four Courts, Dublin .....May 6, 1893

Home Rule demonstration in Hyde Park ..... May 21, 1893

First instalment of Irish Home Rule Bill closured without discussion ..... July 6, 1893

Second instalment closured .....July 13, 1893

Remaining clauses passed under closure. July 20, 1893

Last schedule passed through committee, personal encounters taking place between Conservatives and Irish Nationalists..July 27, 1893

Mr. Gladstone's motion to closure debate on report stage of Home Rule Bill passed in House of Commons 200 to 162...Aug. 21, 1893

Report stage closured .....Aug. 25, 1893

Home Rule Bill carried on third reading in House of Commons, on eighty-second night of the

debate, 301 to 267. At once sent to House of Lords and read for the first time. Sept. 1, 1893

Home Rule Bill rejected by House of Lords on second reading after four nights' debate by 419 to 41 ..... Sept. 8, 1893

Demonstration at Limerick, attended by 10,000, favoring amnesty to political prisoners ..... Sept. 17, 1893

Second anniversary of Parnell's death commemorated by great procession in Dublin ..... Oct. 8, 1893

Convention League of Ulster Unionists reviewed Home Rule question ..... Oct. 24, 1893

Dublin Bankruptcy Court refused to set aside decree against Michael Davitt ..... Oct. 25, 1893

Dynamite bomb found in yard adjoining Aldborough Barracks, Dublin ..... Nov. 27, 1893

Dillon and Healy supporters split after two days' meeting at Dublin of the shareholders of the "Freeman's Journal" ..... Mar. 28, 1894

Annual convention of the Irish National League held at Liverpool ..... May 12, 1894

Evicted Tenants' Bill passes House of Commons on second reading 259 to 237..... July 23, 1894

Proceedings of Irish Land committee cut short by a closing motion carried by the casting vote of the chairman, Mr. J. Morley ..... July 31, 1894

Time limit rule on Evicted Tenants' Bill passed by House of Commons 217 to 174.... July 31, 1894

Evicted Tenants' Bill passed on third reading by House of Commons 199 to 167.... Aug. 7, 1894

House of Lords rejects Evicted Tenants' Bill on second reading by 249 to 30.....Aug. 14, 1894
Land Act committee reports to Mr. Morley .....Aug. 23, 1894
"Paris Fund" of the Irish Nationalist party, amounting to £36,000, released and handed over to Justin McCarthy .....Oct. 23, 1894
New Irish Land Bill brought into the House of Commons by J. Morley.....Mar. 4, 1895
Irish Land Bill read second time without division after three nights' debate.....Apr. 5, 1895
Bill to repeal Irish Crimes Act read second time by 222 to 208. O'Donovan Rossa attempts to make demonstration .....Apr. 8, 1895
Centenary of the College of Maynooth celebrated .....June 25, 1895
United Irish societies of Western Pennsylvania, 5,000 representatives, adopt resolution favoring physical force in promoting cause of Ireland .....Aug. 16, 1895
Earl Cadogan, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, made state entry into Ireland.....Aug. 22, 1895
Irish "Physical Force" convention met at Chicago, Ill. .....Sept. 23, 1895
M. Davitt elected to succeed T. Healy on the Executive of the Irish National League .....Nov. 7, 1895
Irish Nationalist Federation and Irish Parliamentary Party expel T. M. Healy, and Arthur O'Connor .....Nov. 13, 1895
Justin McCarthy resigned as chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party .....Feb. 1, 1896

John Dillon chosen as head of the Irish National Federation at Dublin .....Feb. 6, 1896

Mr. Sexton succeeds Justin McCarthy as head of the Irish Parliamentary Party.....Feb. 6, 1896

Amendment granting amnesty to Irish political prisoners rejected .....Feb. 18, 1896

John Dillon chosen head of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Mr. Sexton declining to serve .....Feb. 18, 1896

Irish Land Bill introduced in House of Commons by Secretary for Ireland, Mr. G. Balfour .....Apr. 13, 1896

Irish Land Bill passed through committee in House of Commons after sitting prolonged until 4.30 A. M. .....July 24, 1896

Irish Land Bill after an all-night sitting passed report stage and third reading in House of Commons without division.....July 29, 1896

Irish Land Bill read second time in House of Lords without division after long debate .....July 31, 1896

Convention of the Irish Race began its sittings at Dublin, 2,000 delegates present..Sept. 1, 1896

Annual convention of the Irish National League, T. P. O'Connor, president; Healyites fail of re-election .....Sept. 4, 1896

Fenian leader, P. J. Tynan, alleged to have directed Phœnix Park murders, arrested in Boulogne .....Sept. 12, 1896

Meeting at Dublin Mansion House, Lord Mayor presiding, attended by Irishmen of all creeds

and political opinions to demand taxation redress ..... Dec. 28, 1896

Annual convention of Irish Landowners condemns Land Act of 1896.....Jan. 27, 1897

Potato crops in Cork, Terry and Clare destroyed by excessive rain .....Sept. 3, 1897

Centenary of the death of Edmund Burke commemorated by the Irish Literary Society .....Oct. 27, 1897

Redmond's amendment to the address, favoring "independent" Irish Parliament, rejected 233 to 65 .....Feb. 11, 1898

Centenary of 1798 celebrated.....Feb. 16, 1898

Irish Local Government Bill introduced in House of Commons .....Feb. 21, 1898

Irish Local Government Bill passed second reading in House of Commons.....Mar. 19, 1898

Irish Local Government Bill passed third reading in House of Commons.....July 28, 1898

Irish Local Government Bill read second time in House of Lords without division..July 20, 1898

Foundation stone of monument to Wolfe Tone and the "United Irishmen of 1898" laid by Mr. John O'Leary, president of the Centenary Committee .....Aug. 15, 1898

First elections in Ireland under the Local Government Bill .....Jan. 17, 1899

James Fitzharris (Skin the Goat), who drove the "Invincibles" to the scene of the Phœnix Park murders, and Laurence Hanlon released from prison.....Aug. 21, 1899

Foundation stone of Parnell monument laid at Dublin .....Oct. 8, 1899

Rt. Hon. Horace Plunkett, M. P., appointed first Vice-President new department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. .....Nov 4, 1899

Irish Nationalist members of Parliament hold conference at Mansion House, Dublin, ...Nov. 23, 1899

Mr. Chamberlain given honorary degree of D. C. D. by Trinity College .....Dec. 18, 1899

Queen Victoria issues orders that in future upon St. Patrick's Day all ranks in the army shall wear a sprig of shamrock in commemoration of the gallantry of the Irish soldiers in South Africa .....Mar. 7, 1900

Queen Victoria greets 52,000 school children from all parts of Ireland in Phœnix Park, Dublin .....Apr. 7, 1900

Irish Nationalist Convention held at the Rotunda, Dublin, under presidency of John Redmond .....June 20, 1900

Nationalist demonstration at Phœnix Park, Dublin, demands Home Rule and the abolition of Landlordism ..... Sept. 2, 1900

Nationalist Convention at the Rotunda, Dublin, excludes T. M. Healy, M. P., and J. D. Carew, M. P., from the Irish Parliamentary Party .....Dec. 11, 1900

Queen Victoria died .....Feb. 22, 1901

Adjournment moved in House of Commons account of seizure of current number of the

"Irish People" for obscene libel of the King. Motion defeated 252 to 64 ..... May 10, 1901
Sectarian riots in Belfast ..... June 9, 1901
Convention of the United Irish League in Dublin. J. Redmond, M.P., who presided stated there were 1230 active branches of the League in Ireland ..... Jan. 8, 1902
Lord Cadogan resigns as Viceroy of Ireland ..... July 17, 1902
Earl of Dudley sworn in at Dublin Castle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ..... Aug. 16, 1902
First conference of landlords and tenants held at the Mansion House, Dublin, presided over by Lord Dunraven ..... Dec. 20, 1902
"Colonel" Lynch convicted of high treason ..... Jan. 23, 1903
"Colonel" Lynch's sentence of death. Committed to life imprisonment ..... Jan. 28, 1903
Nationalist Convention to consider the Irish Land Bill opened ..... Apr. 16, 1903
Irish Landowners Convention held in Dublin ..... Apr. 24, 1903
Dublin University opens its degrees to women ..... June 9, 1903
King and Queen visit Ireland ..... July, 1903
First agreement under new Irish Land Act arranged by W. Browne, a landowner of County Wexford ..... Sept. 11, 1903
Civic inauguration of the new Liverpool University ..... Nov. 7, 1903
King lays foundation stone for new buildings of

the Royal College of Science in Dublin .....May 28, 1904

Mr. Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland installed as Lord Rector of Glasgow University .....Nov. 22, 1904

Prince of Wales attends opening levee at Dublin Castle .....Feb. 1, 1905

Walter Long appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland .....Mar. 13, 1905

Exceptionally heavy rains in Ireland. Over three inches in Dublin in twenty four hours. Much damage by floods.....Sept. 26, 1905

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, at Stirling, urges "Home Rule by Installments"...Nov. 23, 1905

J. H. Campbell appointed Attorney General for Ireland .....Dec. 5, 1905

Earl of Aberdeen, new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, makes State entry into Dublin, Feb. 3, 1906

The provisions of sections 3 and 4 of the Irish "Coercion Act" of 1887 revoked..Feb. 6, 1906

Statue of Mr. Lecky, the historian, unveiled by Lord Rathmore at Trinity College, Dublin, ...May 11, 1906

Statue of the Earl of Dufferin unveiled at Belfast by the Marquess of Londonderry..June 8, 1906

Rosslare harbour and railway, forming part of the new route to the south of Ireland via Fishguard, opened .....July 21, 1906

Final report of the Royal Commission on Trinity College, Dublin, issued as a Blue Book. Commissioners were unanimously of the opinion Trinity College could not be so al-

tered as to make it acceptable to the Irish Catholic bishops but were divided as to the association with it of a Roman Catholic college .....Jan. 21, 1907

Mr. A. Birrell appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland .....Jan. 24, 1907

Nationalist Convention at Dublin unanimously rejects the Irish Council Bill....May 21, 1907

At Dublin it was discovered that the State jewels of the Order of St. Patrick had been stolen since June 11, from a safe at the office of Arms in Dublin Castle.....July 6, 1907

Colonel Arthur Alfred Lynch, elected Nationalist M.P., for Galway in 1902 and convicted Jan. 23, 1903, of high treason for having fought on the Boer side in the South African War, granted full pardon by the King..July 10, 1907

Memorial arch to officers and men of the Royal Dublin Fusileers, who fell in the South African War, unveiled at Dublin by Duke of Connaught .....Aug. 19, 1907

Tuberculosis Exhibition opened in Dublin .....Oct. 12, 1907

Irish Universities Act became law.....July 31, 1908

"Sinn Fein" becomes active.....Jan., 1909

Mr. Callaghan, Secretary of the United Irish League of the United States, brings £2,400 for the Nationalist Parliamentary Party .....Sept., 1909

Belfast and Dublin Universities come into existence .....Oct. 1, 1909

APPENDIX TO CHRONOLOGY

THE HOME RULE SITUATION IN IRELAND IN 1915

On April 11, 1912, Mr. Asquith introduced what has been called the "Government of Ireland Bill." This act after asserting the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament provides for a two-chamber Parliament for the internal government of Ireland.

The "Government of Ireland Bill" passed its third reading in the House of Commons January 16, 1913. On January 30, 1913, it was rejected by the House of Lords. Sir Edward Carson meanwhile had proposed an amendment which would have excluded Ulster from the provisions of the measure. This was also rejected. The result of the agitation over the bill was to increase the intensity of the Ulster movement against Home Rule *in toto*.

The bill passed the House of Commons for the second time July 17, 1913.

When Parliament reopened in February, 1914, the Government announced its intention of passing the bill for the third time and also of refusing the proposed referendum vote. However in March, 1914, Premier Asquith proposed that those counties of Ulster which were not in sympathy with Home Rule should be excluded for six years from the provisions of the act.

The bill passed the House of Commons on its third and last reading, May 25, 1914. Radically modified

it passed the House of Lords July 15. On July 20 the House of Commons took up the amended and modified bill.

The King called a conference of the leaders of the various parties but the meeting came to naught as none of the extremists would make any concessions whatever.

On the following Sunday the famous Dublin riots occurred, in which four people were killed and between thirty and fifty wounded. So intense was the indignation in England and Ireland that Mr. Asquith announced that all consideration of the Home Rule question must be postponed until the excitement died down.

Two days later the European war broke out and the question of Home Rule for Ireland was indefinitely shelved.

THE END

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